Gc
975.7
So88c
v.4
1687337

M. L.

REYNOLDS HISTORICAL
GENEALOGY COLLECTION

Gc

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY

3 1833 02300 6486

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/collectionsofsou04sout

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

South Carolina Historical Society.

V. 4

VOLUME IV.

CHARLESTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE
SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
1887.

F866.83

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

1687337

APPOINTED BY THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN 1740,

ON THE

ST. AUGUSTINE EXPEDITION

UNDER

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
WALKER, EVANS & COGSWELL CO., PRINTERS,
Nos. 3 and 5 Broad and 117 East Bay Streets.
1887.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE

APPOINTED BY THE

GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN 1740,

ON THE

ST. AUGUSTINE EXPEDITION

UNDER

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

PUBLISHED BY
THE SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
WALKER, EVANS & COGSWELL CO., PRINTERS,
Nos. 3 and 5 Broad and 117 East Bay Streets.
1887.

PREFACE.

The Expedition against St. Augustine, under General Oglethorpe, a subject of controversy almost a century and a half ago, has again been discussed in certain publications of recent date. The authors of these are biographers and apologists of General Oglethorpe, and they seem to have been of opinion that his defence required the repetition of certain charges, made by his admirers long ago, while the mortification of failure was fresh, against the Carolinians who took part in that expedition. A reader of these late publications cannot fail to observe that the writers simply copy from each other the same allegations, in the same words, referring always to the same authorities, without, as it would appear, further investigation or research. To one author this remark, we are glad to say, does not apply, viz: Bishop W. B. Stevens. But he wrote as a historian, not a mere panegyrist, and no doubt felt it incumbent on him not to accept, without question, ready-made statements, but to make diligent search for information. Even he does not refer to the following Report—so that he must have reached his conclusions from other sources probably as accessible to other writers as to himself. The only imputation he makes upon the Carolina troops is this: "The Carolina troops were refractory." Perhaps acquaintance with the Report would have disabused him of this impression. The following is an extract from his History of Georgia: "The plans of Oglethorpe were eminently military and judicious; his valour was unimpeached, his zeal untiring, and his energy unexhausted. It was not, therefore, the fault of his skill or of his courage that the expedition failed. The causes of this disaster were such as no commanding General could control, and for the results of which no one could be made responsible.

"It has been asserted by some historians that the raising of the siege was owing to the defection of Col. Vanderdussen and the Carolina Regiment. On the contrary, he remained with Oglethorpe until the last, and Gen. Oglethorpe acknowledged his anxiety to fight for his country, by saying that Col. Vanderdussen had made several handsome offers of service, which necessity had compelled him to decline. Some of the Carolina troops did indeed desert, but no more in proportion to their numbers than fell off from other corps. Col. Vanderdussen remained in Florida until Oglethorpe left it, and did not, with his Regiment, reach Charleston until 13th August,* having lost only

*NOTE BY EDITOR.—Gen. Oglethorpe began his final retreat on 4th July.

"On 4th July everything he had on the island was re-embarked, the troops transported to the Continent, and the whole army began their march for Georgia."—*Harris's Memorials of Oglethorpe.*

fourteen men by sickness and desertion. It is true that the people of Carolina cast many unjust reflections upon Oglethorpe, and endeavored to elevate the military character of Col. Vanderdussen by building it up on the ruins of his commander-in-chief. The controversies were bitter, but worthless. Let us not exhume such a theme, long buried in the ivy-covered tomb of the past, but rather conceding to Col. Vanderdussen the full share of honor which the Assembly of Carolina voted to him, award to Oglethorpe also the renown he so richly merits for his skill, valor, and untiring devotion to the protection and preservation of his beloved Georgia."—*Stevens's History of Georgia, pp. 178, 179—Edition, 1847.*

Had other writers followed this advice, not to "put breath in these dry bones," publication of the following Report may not have been thought necessary. But in two volumes of recent date, Jones's "Dead Towns of Georgia," 1878, and Wright's "Memoirs of Gen. Oglethorpe," 1867, all the old aspersions on the Carolinians have been raked from the ashes of the past. It is therefore a debt of patriotism, and justice to our fellow-countrymen, that their memory be vindicated.

The document now published is of authority fully equal to any from any other quarter. Indeed, remembering the character of its authors, and the grave responsibilities under which it was prepared, it is not too much to say that, wherever there is conflict, its authority should be paramount. It has been sleeping among the State archives; its existence forgotten, and its contents unknown, save possibly to some few who, through accident or curiosity, may have noticed it. In every important particular it refutes the imputations on the Carolinians. The names of the committee who made the report afford ample guarantee for its truth and credibility. Any attempt to abridge or condense would detract from the weight it should carry; for the minuteness of detail furnishes internal evidence of the care and thorough inquiry exercised in its preparation.

The charges, in general terms, against the Carolina troops, are tardiness in arriving; turbulence and refractoriness, desertion, and too early abandonment of the enterprise. To all these conclusive answers will be found in the Report.

Tardiness in Arriving.—Oglethorpe arrived at the place of rendezvous on 9th May. On that day he had with him 220 men of his own force and 125 men of the Carolina Regiment, being a detachment sent under Lieut. Maxwell and Ensign Blamyer. This appears also from Oglethorpe's journal, sent to Lieut.-Gov. Bull, on 24th May, quoted by a writer in *Russell's Magazine*, September, 1859, as follows: "On the 9th Gen. Oglethorpe passed into Florida, camped on the Spanish side of the River St. John. * * * Two sloops arrived with his stores and some of his Regiment from Frederica, and four schooners, with stores, from *Charles Town*, and Capt. Lieut Maxwell and Ensign Blamyer, with a detachment of the Carolina Regiment. On the 10th, in the morning, he marched for Fort St. Diego," &c. The above writer continues: "He

sent forward a part of the regulars and Indians, and a part of the Carolina troops under Maxwell to the attack. This was the first engagement of the expedition. When the garrison capitulated to Oglethorpe, who soon came up with the remainder of the forces, Lieut. Saussure (DeSaussure?), of the Carolina Regiment, with Lieut. Dunbar, of the General's Regiment, marched in and took possession. Where, at this time, were the rest of Oglethorpe's Regiment, his regulars and Georgia troops? Not yet arrived. When did they arrive? On the 13th, together with *more of the Carolina Regiment.* If this account be true, and who can doubt it? then the first engagement of the expedition (before all of Oglethorpe's troops reached the rendezvous) was participated in by a large proportion of our Regiment."

Turbulence, Inefficiency, Desertion.—These charges are wholly falsified by the evidence contained in the narrative, of labour, and effort, and promptness at every alarm. It is true that the *Volunteers,* but they only, went off—but they did so long after the plan of taking the town by a sudden and vigorous assault had been abandoned, and when sundry proposals from Col. Vanderdussen having been declined: there was no prospect of further attempts. But they gave formal notice to Col. Vanderdussen of their intention to return, with the reasons therefor. They were *Volunteers* who had joined the expedition under the belief that their patriotic ardour would find immediate opportunity for action in the sudden, vigorous and offensive effort of which Gen. Oglethorpe had given assurance. The promise of such effort being the inducement to volunteer, failure, from whatever cause, to act upon the promise, was failure of the very condition on which these Volunteers were there, and left them free to obey what they thought higher claims upon them at home. Further, they had not arranged for the long delays, the expenses and other sacrifices required by a protracted siege. From the Carolina Regiment there were only two desertions—one by a man of New England, who succeeded in getting away; the other by an Irishman, who was taken and shot. The charge against Capt. Bull is refuted by the fact that he was made bearer of dispatches from Gen. Oglethorpe to the Lieutenant-Governor of South Carolina. Surely, this honorable office would not have been bestowed on a deserter.

Too Early Abandonment of the Enterprise.—This has been answered as above by Bishop Stevens. The Report too shows that Col. Vanderdussen and his Regiment remained to the last, protecting parties of Georgians uselessly sent out by the General. That no men were lost in action, was because General Oglethorpe always refused Col. Vanderdussen's proposals to go into action—proposals which the General himself described as "handsome." The artillery was brought off by our Regiment from Anastatia, which the General had declared impossible. Stores which the General's men had left were brought off from Point Quartell—the South Carolina Regiment coming off only under positive orders from the General, who wrote also on 13th July to Col.

Vanderdussen: "I am glad of your arrival at St. John's, and approve of your expeditious landing on Point Quartell." Yet the credit of bringing off the artillery is given by some to Gen. Oglethorpe's men.

It may be well to give a brief history of the Report. The failure of the expedition had caused general disappointment and mortification, and much of the blame was laid by friends of Gen. Oglethorpe on the Carolinians. The authorities of South Carolina felt that an investigation should be made, and in July, 1740, a committee was appointed for the purpose. It consisted of the Attorney-General, Col. Brewton, Maj. Pinckney, Messrs. Dart, Mazyck, Drayton, Motte, Elliott, Captains Hyrne, Morris, Austin, Hons. John Fenwicke, John Colleton, Edmond Atkin. These were among the most respectable and intelligent men of the Province. They devoted near twelve months to the subject and made their report in July, 1741. Thus it rests on the best evidence, that obtained by trustworthy men, from witnesses and actors of the time and in the affair itself. Such of the Vouchers in writing as are still extant are given in an Appendix.

The main object of the publication of the Report is to vindicate the Carolina troops. While it fully does this, it also suggests the following as probable causes of failure of the expedition:

1. Gen. Oglethorpe landed in Florida because some Spaniards had killed two persons on Amelia Island, and these Spaniards were pursued to within a few miles of St. Augustine—thereby the inhabitants were alarmed and put on the alert at the very time he was contemplating an invasion.

2. He attacked and took two little Spanish forts on the St. John's, viz: St. Francis de Papa, and Picolata. Thus further alarm was given, for, as appears by letters taken by Capt. Warren from a vessel bound from St. Augustine to Cuba, the Governor of St. Augustine pressed for a supply of provisions, ammunition, &c. Hence the arrival of provisions and six half gallies, which figure in the narrative. All this while preparing for and urging a sudden and vigorous assault.

3. Before the arrival of the Commodore, before the arrival of Col. Vanderdussen, without any concert, Gen. Oglethorpe passes over the St. John's to take a little palisado fort, within twenty miles of St. Augustine, where he spends about three weeks, sending out parties to reconnoitre. At length he marches with the force he had to within two miles of St. Augustine, and when it was expected he would push into the town, and force the inhabi ants into the Castle, where they would be crowded, he said his purpose was only to reconnoitre. And when Col. Palmer offered to lead a party and burn the town, he is told it is too hazardous that he (Gen. Oglethorpe) was only complying with the custom of armies, to make a feint; like Marshal Daun, a cotemporary of Oglethorpe, whose tactics were "to march and countermarch all summer, without gaining or losing a square league, and then go into winter quarters." Did the General (ask the Committee) not think before how hazardous his undertaking was? Then he marches back.

drums beating and colors flying; to his own satisfaction, but to the mortification of men eager for the attack.

4. By examination of the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment, it appeared that the General never afterwards called a council of war. Even the important step of going to Anastatia was not communicated beforehand.

5. Discontinuance of the blockade on the land side, whilst the men-of-war prevented supplies of provision by sea.

6. Disposition of troops; not effecting a thorough siege or blockade, nor allowing support, which caused the affair at Moosa.

7. The conduct of the Commodore in giving notice that the ships must withdraw on a certain day; and his lukewarmness, and refusal to give efficient aid in attacking the gallies, or to leave two hundred men to man the battery until the return of the ships.

The South Carolina Historical Society has long desired to publish the Report, and is now enabled to do so through assistance from the State Legislature.

The Preface and notes were prepared at the desire of the Society, by J. J. Pringle Smith, a member, and submitted to the President, Prof. F. A. Porcher.

IN THE UPPER HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY,

THURSDAY, 2nd July, 1741.

MESSAGE FROM THE COMMONS, WITH THE REPORT OF THE COMMITTEES ON THE EXPEDITION TO ST. AUGUSTINE.

Present—The Honourable John Fenwicke, Edmond Atkin, William Middleton, Esqrs., William Pinckney and Robert Austin, Esqrs., from the Commons House, brought the following Message and Report:

We herewith send your Honours the Report of the Committee of Both Houses appointed to enquire into the Causes of the Disappointments of success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine, to which this House have agreed, with some small amendments. We desire that your Honours will be pleased to concur with us therein.

By order of the House.

WILLIAM BULL, JUNR., *Speaker.*

THE 2D OF JUNE, 1741.

Report of the Committee appointed to enquire into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Late Expedition against St. Augustine.

Your Committee have hitherto been prevented from making a Report to the House of the Result of their Inquiry into so unfortunate an Event to this Province by the Great Difficulties which they have met with in Collecting proper information and Vouchers from persons living in Different and Remote parts of the Province. Ungratefull also your Committee found it to lay open a scene which hath allready produced so much Concern. Those Difficulties being at Length got over, and your Committee having maturely weighed every thing that occurred in the Course of their Inquiry are of Opinion that they cannot better acquit themselves of their charge, nor more fully answer the Expectations of the House than by making a just and

faithful narrative (so far as things have reached their knowledge) of the measures with which the Enterprise formed against the Town and Castle of St. Augustine was Conducted in the field, from the time General Oglethorpe first Landed in Florida. This they propose to do, and therein nothing shall be contained but incontestable Facts collected from the Attested Extracts of Journals Kept by the Secretary of the Colonel and by the Lieut. Colonel of the Carolina Regiment, from Examination on Oath, and from Original Letters before your Committee. They afterwards pursuant to the Obligations they are under, point out to the House the Principal and most apparent causes of the Ill success which attended the Expedition, and make such other Remarks and observations upon the whole as shall appear to your Committee to be necessary. But before your Committee proceed to do this, they apprehend 'tis necessary to look back and Recollect upon what motives and by what means the Legislature of this Province, which had so lately laboured under so many Difficulties, was induced to engage so far in an undertaking of this nature. That by thus bringing every thing Relating to this affair into one view, your Committee may be the better enabled to make the Remarks proposed, and at the same time the prudence of this Government may appear sufficiently Justified in having Engaged in that undertaking at a time when the Province could so Ill afford to do it.

St. Augustine, in possession of the Crown of Spain, is well known to be situate at but a Little distance from hence in the Latitude of 30° 00′ N., in Florida, the next Territory to us. It is maintained by his Catholic Majesty, partly in order to preserve his Claim to Florida, and partly that it may be of service to the State. Fleets when coming through the Gulf by showing lights to them along the Coast, and by being ready to give assistance when any of them are Cast away thereabout. The Castle, by the Largest account, doth not cover more than one acre of Ground, but is allowed on all hands to be a place of Great strength, being a square Fort, built with soft stone, with four Bastions; the Curtain

about sixty yards in length, the Parapet nine feet thick, the Rampart twenty feet high, casemated underneath for Lodgings, arched over, and of late said to be made Bomb-proof: having about fifty pieces of Cannon mounted, some of which are 24 pounders, and hath been usually garrisoned with about 300 or 400 men of the King's Regular Troops. The Town is not very large, and but Indifferently fortified; the Inhabitants, many of which are Mulattoes of savage Disposition, are all in the King's pay, also being Registered from their Birth, and a severe penalty laid on a Master of a Vessel that shall attempt to carry any one of them off. These are formed into a Militia, and have been generally Computed to be near about the same number as the Regular Troops. Thus Relying wholly on the King's pay for their subsistence, their thoughts never turn to Trade or even agriculture; but depending on foreign supplies for the most common necessaries of Life, they spend their time in universal, perpetual Idleness. From such a state mischievous Inclinations naturally spring up in such a People, and having Leisure and opportunity ever since they had a Neighbour, the fruits of whose Industry excited their Desires and Envy, they have not failed to Carry those Inclinations into action as often as they Could without the least regard to Peace or War subsisting between the Crown of Great Britain and Spain, or to stipulations agreed on between the two Governments. And though in some Cases wherein the persons concerned were few and the Circumstances such that they could not be easily detected, that Government hath pretended Ignorance and seemed to disallow thereof; yet it is certain that at the same time it hath concealed those persons and Connived at their actions. In April, 1670, Peace then subsisting between the Crowns, the ship which the Lords proprietors of this Province sent over with the first Settlers arrived in Ashley River, and, having landed them, went to Virginia to fetch a supply of Provisions, &c., for them. The Spaniards at St. Augustine hearing thereof in the meantime, sent a party in a vessel from thence Immediately to attack

them. Accordingly they Landed at Stono Inlet on their Backs. But those settlers having by that time entered themselves, and the ship Returning timely to their Relief, they made the best of their way home again. In 1686 Peace still subsisting, the Lord Cardross who had obtained from the Lords Proprietors a Grant of a large Tract of Land in Granville County having just before come over and settled at Beaufort on Port Royal with a number of North Britons, the Spaniards coming in three Gallies from St. Augustine, landed upon them, killed, and whipped a great many after being taken in a most cruel and barbarous manner, plundered them all and broke up that settlement. The Gallies going from thence run up next to Bear Bluff on North Edisto River, where those Spaniards again Landed, burnt the Houses, plundered the settlers and took Langrave Morton's Brother Prisoner. Their further progress was happily prevented by a Hurricane, which drove two of the Gallies up so high on the land that no one being able to get one of them off again, and the country being at that time sufficiently alarmed, they thought proper to make a Retreat; but first set fire to that Galley on board which was Mr. Morton, in chains, and he was most inhumanly burnt in her. In 1702, before Queen Anne's Declaration of War was known in these parts, the Spaniards formed another Design to fall upon our settlements by Land at the head of nine hundred Appalachee Indians from thence. The Creek Indians, in friendship with this Province, coming at a knowledge of it, and sensible of the Danger approaching, acquainted our Traders, then in the nation, with it when this army was actually on the march coming down that way. The Traders having thereupon encouraged the Creeks to get together an army of five hundred men, headed the same and went out to meet the other; both armies met in an evening on the side of Flint River, a branch of the Catahochee. In the morning just before Break of Day, when the Indians are accustomed to make their attack, the Creeks stirring up their fires, drew Back at a little distance leaving their Blankets by the fires in the very same order as they

had slept. Immediately after the Spaniards and Appalachees, as was expected, coming on to attack them fired and run in upon the Blankets; thereupon the Creeks, rushing forth, fell on them, Killed, and took the greatest part, and entirely routed them. To this stratagem was owing the Defeat of the Intended Design. It was the Latter end of the same year Queen Anne's war being commenced, Col. Moore, then Governor of this Province with Reason Expected a visit from the Spaniards: and it having been suggested to him that St. Augustine might be easily taken, if surprised, he Judged it best to give the first Blow. Accordingly he undertook an Expedition against it with five hundred whites and a few Indians. He himself, with four hundred of them, proceeded in the Vessels Directly to the Bar of St. Augustine Harbour, whilst Coll. Daniel Landing at Juan's, marched Directly from thence with the other one hundred and the Indians, and entered the town with them only the same day as the Vessels appeared in sight. This little army Kept the Castle close Besieged above three months, and Repressed several sallies with the loss of very few men: yet having no Bombs with them, and a Spanish man-of-war coming to its Relief from the Havanna with a Considerable number of men on board four Large Transports, which landed on one station, they were obliged to Retreat, but not without first burning the Town. In 1704 Col. Moore was Commissioned a Lieut. Genl. by Sr. Natha. Johnson who succeeded him in the Government, to make an Expedition against the Spaniards and Indians at Appalachee, about eighty miles to the west of Augustine, on the same motives that the preceeding Expedition had been undertaken. He marched up thither at the head of fifty Volunteers of this Province and one thousand Indians. The first fort he came to, which had fifty men in it, he took by storm after a smart Resistance. The next Day the Captain of St. Lewis's Fort, with twenty-three Spaniards and 400 Indians, giving him Battle, Conl. Moore took him and 8 of his men Prisoners and Killed 200 of the Indians. In two days after the King of Attcoocha, who was in a strong

Fort with 130 men, sent to him presents of Provisions, &c., and made his peace, after which he marched through all the rest of the Towns, 5 of which had strong Forts and Defences against small armies, but all submitted without conditions. He brought away 300 Indians, being the whole of 3 Towns and the most of 4 more, having totally destroyed the whole of 2 Towns, so that he left but one Town, which compounded with him, part of St. Lewis's, and the people of another Town who Run away alltogether; but he burnt their Town Church and Fort. By this Conquest of Appalachee the Province was freed from any Danger from that part during the whole war, and this Important service was effected without putting this Government to the least expense. In 1706 the Spaniards at St. Augustine joined the French from Martinico in making up a Fleet of ten sail, with 800 men, whites, mustees and negroes, and 200 Indians, to Invade this Province. The ship on board which the Commander was being separated from the fleet fell into Sewee Bay, not knowing the place. The Rest coming over Charlestown Bar anchored just within on a Sunday, where they remained, sending parties ashore on James Island and Wando Neck, plundering and burning Houses, &c., 'til Friday following. Capt. Fenwicke going from Charlestown with one hundred men landed at Habpan* in sight of the Town, upon a Party of 130 men, who had got thither and set the ship on fire. He attacked them, Killed and wounded about 30, and took seventy Prisoners. The next Day the ship which had lost Company still not appearing, the whole fleet set sail again. In 1715 Peace being sometime concluded between the Crowns, the Yemassee Indians, who before the settlement of this Province, had lived in amity with the Government at St. Augustine, but afterwards Removed and Settled on a Body of land opposite Port Royal Island living Contiguous to and in the most Intimate manner with the settlers in those parts, having been Ill used By some of the Traders amongst

---

*Note.—Hobcaw no doubt is meant.

them, were so far Disgusted that they Broke out in war with this Province, by massacreing, on the 15th April, above eighty of the Inhabitants of Granville County. But it was manifest that they were prompted to this severe Resentment of their usage, whatever it was, by the Spaniards at St. Augustine. For though those Yemassees had, During Queen Anne's war, been the greatest Instruments of Constantly Disturbing and harrassing them in so much that not a man dared for a long time to go out of the sight of the Castle, and Destroying even their Castle, yet on the very day this war Broke out the Yemassees shewed so much Confidence in the Spaniards that they sent away their women and children in their own boats by water to Augustine, and having Ravaged the Country, Killed many more and doing all the mischief they could, so that all the Southern parts were broken up to about the Distance of 20 miles from Charlestown, they themselves soon after Retreated to St. Augustine also, where they were Received, Protected and Encouraged to make frequent Incursions from thence into the Settlements of this Province; and being oftentimes headed by Spaniards, they cut off several of the settlers and Carried off their slaves. The slaves themselves at length, taking advantage from those things, deserted of their own accord to St. Augustine, and upon being Demanded back by this Government, they were not Returned, but such rates paid for those that could not be concealed as that Government was pleased to set upon them. This Evil increasing, although Conll. Barnwell,* who was sent from hence, Immediately after the Conclusion of Queen Anne's war, had, in behalf of this Government, then Entered into a Stipulation with that mutually to Return any slaves that should for the future Desert from Either Government, notwithstanding which the very year Following in 1726,† with whom that

---

*Note.—This was Col. John Barnwell, father of Col. Nathaniel Barnwell, mentioned later in the Report as serving in the capacity of volunteer aid to Gen. Oglethorpe.

†Note.—There is some confusion here, probably from misplacement of words—but the sense is not affected.

Government confirmed the P. Stipulation: notwithstanding which the very year following in 1727, Peace between the Crowns continuing Fresh Depredations were committed on this Province from Augustine, both by land and water, which created the Expense of two Expeditions to prevent the progress of them. At that time this Coast being infested by several Spanish vessels, who styling themselves Gaurda Costas, on pretence of Searching, plundered and made Prizes of all the English vessels they met with, a schooner fitted out at Augustine on the Like account, put into North Edisto, where the men made a descent and carried off the slaves of David Ferguson, which were never returned or paid for. On this occasion Capt. Mountjoy was fitted out by the Government, who cleared the Coasts of those Pirates, and Retook a Rich Virginia Ship, at the same time a party of Yemassee Indians, headed by Spaniards from St. Augustine, having murdered our out scouts, made an Incursion into our Settlements within 10 miles of Pon Pon, where they cut off one Mr. Micheaux, another white man on the same Plantation, and carried off a Third Prisoner, with all the Slaves, Horses, &c., &c., but being briskly pursued by the Neighbours, who had notice of it, they were overtaken, routed, and obliged to quit their Booty. The Government Judging it necessary to Chastize at least those Indians, Commissioned Conll. Palmer for that purpose instantly, who with about 100 whites and the Like number of Indians, landed at St. Juan's, and having left a sufficient number to take care of the craft, marched, undiscovered to the Yemassee's Town within a mile of St. Augustine. He attacked it at once, killed several of those Indians, took several Prisoners, and drove the Rest into St. Augustine, where they were sheltered, and having Destroyed their town, he Returned in the beginning of 1728. A Party of these Yemassees having Landed at Doffuskie, surprised one of our scout boats, Killed every man but Capt. Gilbert, who Commanded her. One of the Indians seizing him as his property, saved his life. In their Return back to St. Augustine a Debate arose that it was necessary to Kill him, for the

Governour would not have them to bring any one alive. But Capt. Gilbert pleading with the Indian that claimed him was protected by him, and upon coming to St. Augustine was, after some time, released by the Governour. In the Latter End of 1737, still peace subsisting, great preparations were made to invade openly this Province and Georgia. For that purpose a great Body of men arrived in St. Augustine, in Gallies, from the Havanna, which put this Province to a very Large Expense to provide against, but happily they were Countermanded just as they were ready to set off. In 1738, although Peace subsisted, and Governour Johnston, after his arrival here, renewed the before mentioned Stipulation, another method was taken up by the Spaniards to answer their Ends. Hitherto the Government of St. Augustine had not dared to acknowledge, much less to Justify, the Little Villanies and violences offered to our Properties, but now an Edict of his Catholic Majesty himself was Published by beat of Drum Round the town of St. Augustine, where many Negroes, belonging to English Vessels, which carried thither Supplies of Provisions, &c., had the opportunity of hearing it, promising Liberty and protection to all slaves that should desert thither from any of the English Colonies, but more especially from this, and Least that should not prove sufficient of itself, Secret measures were taken to make it Known to our Slaves in General, in Consequence of which numbers of Slaves did, from time to time, by Land and water, Desert to St. Augustine, and the better to facilitate their escape, carried off their masters' Horses, Boats, &c.—Some of them first Committing murder, and were accordingly received and declared free. Our Present Lieut. Govern'r, by Deputies sent from hence on that occasion to Signior Don Manuel de Montiano, the Present Govern'r of St. Augustine, Set forth the manner which those slaves had Escaped, and Redemanded them pursuant to the stipulation between the two Governments, and to the peace subsisting between the Crowns. Notwithstanding which, though that Government acknowledged those Slaves to be there, yet producing the King of Spain's

said Edict, he Declared that he could not Deliver them up without a positive order for that Purpose from the King, and that he should continue to Receive all others that should Resort thither, it having been an article of Complaint against his Predecessour that he had not put the said Edict in force Sooner. The Success of those Deputies being too well known at their Return, Conspiracies were formed and attempts made by more Slaves to Desert to Augustine, but as every one was by this time alarmed with apprehensions of that nature, by great vigilance they were prevented from succeeding.

In Sept'r, 1739, our Slaves made an Insurrection at Stono, in the Heart of our settlements not 20 miles from Charlestown, in which they massacred 23 whites after the most Cruel and Barbarous manner to be conceived, and having got arms and ammunition out of the store, they bent their Course to the Southward, burning all the Houses on the Road, but they marched so slow in full confidence of their own Strength, from their first success, that they gave time to a party of our Militia to Come up with them. The number was in a manner Equal on both sides, and an Engagement, wherein one fought for Liberty and Life, the other for their Country and everything that was dear to them, ensued such as may be supposed in such a case, but by the Blessing of God the Negroes were Defeated, the greatest part being Killed on the spot or taken, and those that then escaped were so closely pursued and hunted, day after day, that in the End all but 2 or 3 men were Killed or Taken and Executed. That the Negroes would not have made this Insurrection had they not Depended on St. Augustine for a place of Reception afterwards was very certain, and that the Spaniards had a hand in prompting them to this particular Action, there was but little Room to Doubt. For in July preceding, Don Pedro, Capt. of the Horse at St. Augustine, came to Charlestown in a Launch with 20 or 30 men (one of which was a Negro that spoke English very well), under a Pretence of Delivering a letter to General Oglethorpe, altho' he could not possibly be Ignorant that

the General resided at Frederica, not half the Distance from St. Augustine; and in Return he was seen at Times to put into every one of our Inlets on the Coast. And in the very month in which the above Insurrection was made, the General acquainted our Lieut. Gov'r by the Letter that the Magistrates at Savannah in Georgia had seized a Spaniard, whom he took to be a priest and that they thought, from what they had Discovered, that he was Employed by the Spaniards to procure a general Insurrection of the Negroes. On this occasion Every Breast was filled with concern. Evil Brought home to us within our very Doors awakened the attention of the most unthinking. Every one that had any relation, any Tie of nature, every one that had a life to lose, were in the most Possible manner Shocked at such Danger daily hanging over their Heads. With Regret we bewailed our peculiar case that we could not Enjoy the Benefits of peace like the Rest of mankind, and that our Industry Should be the means of taking from us all the Sweets of life and of Rendering us Liable to the Loss of our Lives and Fortunes. With Indignation we looked at St. Augustine like another Sallee, (Alsatia?) that Den of thieves and Ruffians, Receptacle of Debtors, Servants, and Slaves, Bane of Industry and Society, and Revolved in our minds all the Injuries this Province had Received from thence ever since the first Settlement; that they had from first to Last in times of Profoundest Peace, both Publickly and privately, by themselves, Indians and Negroes, in every shape, molested us, not without some Instances of uncommon Cruelty and what aggravated the same was that this Government, on the Contrary, had never been wanting in its good offices with our Indians in their behalf, and even during Queen Anne's war, had exercised so much Humanity towards them, that in order to prevent those Indians from scalping them, according to their custom when they should take any of them Prisoners, a Law was passed to give them £5 Proclamation money for every one that they should bring in alive, and Accordingly a great number of the Spaniards by

that means were brought in alive, and the said Reward Paid for them.

St. Augustine having thus at last obtained the Royal Sanction for its mischievous Designs, the matter was fully Represented to his Majesty, from whom we waited with Patience for Redress. At this Melancholy Juncture his Majesty's Proclamation came over with orders to the Lieut. Governour to Grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal against the subjects of the Crown of Spain, and war between the two Crowns seemed Inevitable. The Hopes of being in Such Case at Liberty to Revenge our Liberty made that Desirable to all which, at any other time, would have been Deemed a misfortune to this Frontier Province, as we know our own strength was Insufficient of itself for such an undertaking, and we Doubted not of his Majesty's assistance, but in the meantime the Encouragements which the Spaniards would have during this posture of affairs to carry on the scheme begun with our Slaves, presented itself strongly to every imagination. At the same time the Lieut. Governour, being informed by a Gentleman just from the Havannah that the preparations made there in 1737 to Invade us still lay Ready, and that the Spaniards had often Declared they should make use of them for that purpose the moment they heard it was war, with Reason now Expecting an attack, wrote to the Captains of the men-of-war on the Northern Stations to come to our assistance according to Instructions given in Such Case from home. This was our Case, these were our Sentiments, when on ye 8th Nov'r, 1739, our Lieut. Governour Communicated to the House a letter which he had received from General Oglethorpe, dated 27th Sept'r preceeding, wherein the General acquainted his Honr.* that he had then received orders from his Majesty, dated 15th June, to annoy the Subjects of Spain in the best Manner he was able, That he had sent up an officer into the Cherokee Nation to march down into the Spanish Territories, that he had also sent Commissions into the Creek

* Vide App. No. 1.

Nation, from whence he had advice that Tonahowi with 200 men had gone against the Floridas, and that he had sent an Express after them to attack the Spaniards, and believed they would strike the first blow, and that he hoped the People of Carolina would give the assistance necessary that he might begin with the siege of St. Augustine before more Troops arrived there from Cuba. This Letter was followed by two others, one of the 6th Oct'r,* wherein the General told his Hon. that, by fresh advices from England, all was in action, that he hoped the Assembly would come into taking this favourable opportunity of getting Rid of their neighbours at Augustine, and that they should have his utmost assistance; and another of the 20th October,† wherein he assured him that he should do the utmost in his power for taking St. Augustine before succours came from Spain, that If we did not attack we should be attacked. It was natural in our Circumstances to listen favourably to any proposal that had but the appearance of a Tendency to make them better. The House being thus Ready and predisposed, appointed a very large Committee to take this matter into Consideration in Conjunction with a Committee of the upper House, as there never was anything in which the Province was so nearly Concerned. The Committee proceeded therein with the greatest Deliberation. On the one hand the Inestimable advantages that would accrue to the Province by the Reduction of St. Augustine were self-evident, on the other hand it was too apparent how greatly our Strength was Reduced by the Dreadful mortality occasioned by the Small Pox in 1738, the year before, and also by the yellow fever in the year then Present, the People at the same time already paying cheerfully heavy Taxes, and a miscarriage in the undertaking presented to view the most Fatal consequences. For this Reason Some very Rational Prospect of Success appeared necessary. The Committee therefore at once Expressing their Sense of the Proposal, and at the time a becoming Tenderness to their Country, in

---

* App. No. 2. † App. No. 3.

their Report* to the House of 12th Decem'r Recommended that in case General Oglethorpe Should think proper to form a Design of besieging St. Augustine, and should Communicate his Scheme to the General Assembly, and should make it appear that the same was Probable of being Attended with Success of taking or Demolishing that Garrison, that then the Publick of this Province would engage to give General Oglethorpe the Best assistance they Reasonably Could to put his Scheme in Execution. To this the House agreed, and the upper House having Concurred thereto, the Same was Communicated the next day by the Lieut. Governour by Letter† to the General. On the 30th Jan'ry the Lieut. Governour sent down to the Commons' House the answer which he had Received from the General to the foregoing offer, Dated 29th Decem'r. Therein the General Enumerated everything that he thought Reasonable and Necessary for this Province to assist him towards the Siege of St. Augustine, Viz: 12 Cannons of 18 pound Shot, 200 Shots for each Gun and Powder proportionable, one Mortar Piece and Bombs with Powder Sufficient, 800 Pioneers (Negroes or White Men), with Tools Sufficient for that number of men, Such as Spades, Hoes, Axes and Hatchets to Dig Trenches, make Gabelines and Fascines, If negroes then white men Sufficient to Guard them and oversee them, Vessels and Boats Sufficient to Carry the Artillery men, Provisions, &c., 6,000 Bushels of Corn or Rice, proportionable thereto for 1,000 Indians, as many Horsemen as could be had for 4 months, Provisions for 400 men of his own Regiment, at the Rate of 1 lb. Meat and 1 lb. Rice per Diem each man, with Boats for Carrying to St. Augustine, Pay and the like allowance of Provisions for 200 Georgians, Equal to the number of soldiers that he should leave behind him. On this the number of foot men he expected from us was omitted, but it was, as will be seen, 600 men. He mentioned also that he could march 400 men of his Regiment and leave Sufficient for the Garrison behind him,

---

*App. No. 4. † App. No. 5.

that he had ordered 3 Troops of 20 men each to be Raised, that he had got but 12 Horses for them, that he should have 1,000 Indians, that the Cherokees had Promised to be down in March, that he expected the Creeks the same time, and that he had a Party of them with him for Some Months, and that he had 26 Cohorns and 1,800 Shells. This he said was his opinion with Relation to the Preparations for Dislodging the Spaniards at Augustine, without which it could not certainly be done, then he took notice of Some Inducements for us to Engage in the Undertaking immediately, Viz: That If we did not take the Happy Opportunity to attack St. Augustine whilst it was weak, the Havannah being blocked up by our men-of-war, which Rendered it Incapable of Receiving Succours from Cuba, all North America, as well as Carolina and Georgia, would feel it severely, for that as soon as the sea was free they would send a large Body of Troops from Cuba, that the preparations made at the Havannah Some time past (meaning for the Invading this Province) were still there, and If they should come on Land in Florida we must then make a Defensive war; they might choose whom to attack separately, and might molest all North America with their Privateers; that he was willing himself to do all that he possibly could for annoying the Enemy, as his Majesty had ordered, and Should spare no Personal Labour nor Danger towards freeing Carolina of a place from whence their Negroes were Encouraged to Massacre their Masters, and were openly Harboured after such attempts. Lastly, he added that the Spaniards had attacked the Island of Amelia and Murdered 2 men there, on which occasion he had Landed in Florida; that the Indians having pursued them, had Killed one of the Negroes that had runaway from Carolina, within a few miles of Augustine. On the 4th February the Lieut. Governour sent to the House 2 other letters, which he had Received from the General. In one of these, dated 23d January,* he Informs his Hon'r that a Detachment of his Majesty's Troops and a party of

---

*App. No. 7.

Indians had, on the 8th of that month, attacked and took the Fort of Picolata, on the South side of St. Juan's River, and Fort St. Francis, on the North side, which Forts commanded the Ferry over that River and the Passage from Augustine to the Indian Nations and the Gulf of Mexico. In the other letter* he says that, by the Examination of Several Prisoners which he had taken in Fort Francis, he found Augustine had been greatly strengthened, a Covered way having been made Round the Fort, which they thought would be Soon finished; that the Longer we delayed attacking them the Stronger they would be; that he had held a council of war, by whose advice he had made out the preparations necessary according to the present Circumstances, and that Capt. Heron, the Bearer, would Lay before the General Assembly the assistance necessary† for bringing the Undertaking to an happy Issue. The Estimate of that assistance accompanied the same, consisting of one Regiment of Foot of 600 men, 3 Troops of Rangers 105 men, 800 Negroes for Pioneers, 160 white men to guard and coerce them, 50 men for Officers, &c., among the Indians; 6 months Provisions for all those and for 400 men of his own Regiment and 3 months Provisions for 2,000 Indians, as also one Gun, Hatchet, and Blanket, for each of them, besides those other necessarys mentioned in his former Letter, dated ye 29th December, together with an (k) acct of the Forces upon the Establishments at St. Augustine, which the General had from the Spanish Prisoners taken at St. Francis, consisting of 924 men, besides ye Town Militia, Indians, Negroes, and Transports. The House had Some other Inducements to assist the General to the utmost of its Power, not mentioned by him. He had already proceeded to such a Length with the Indians to Joyn in this Undertaking, not only after but before he had begun to consult measures with this Government, that he could not possibly go back without bringing the English into great contempt amongst them, and Rendering it impossible ever after to

---

* App. No. 8. † App. No. 9.

prevail with them to join in any other. Perhaps also (as we know the Indians will, in time of war, join one side or the other, and some of them, particularly the Creeks, were already wavering,) the Disappointment might Incline many of them to Join the Spaniards, all of which would be of the most fatal consequence to us; on the Contrary, if they struck the first blow with us they could be relied on During the whole war, and if we should be so fortunate as to Reduce the Castle of Augustine of the strength of which they had conceived so great Ideas, our Reputation would be Established with them forever. Considered, also, that by the Reduction of that Castle, a Sum of £10,000 annual Expense occasioned thereby in maintaining Garrisons, Lookouts, Scout Boats, Rangers and Indian Presents, &c., would be saved to the Publick in its Taxes. For tho' after the Settlement of Georgia, the Lookouts, Scout Boats, and Rangers, and one of the Garrisons, had been Reduced, yet the Presents to the Indians had been Enlarged Equal thereto, and those Reducements were become more necessary than ever to be re-established. Upon those and all other Considerations, before mentioned, the House Discovered the greatest Cheerfulness to grant all the assistance in its Power to the General, Consistent with the safety of the Province, or to Plunge the Country into a Certain Debt for the bare attempting to remove its Evils, the success of which attempt nay even the Probability of it being as yet Doubtful. The Same Committee, as was before directed by the House to take under Consideration the foregoing Letters and Estimate of assistance Sent by the General, having conferred thereon with the Committee of the Upper House, on the 5th February, Reported,* "That the same would Exceed the "Sum of £200:492:10, which the Committee was of Opinion "was an Expense too Great for this Province to bear; But "Recommended that If the General would undertake the "Expedition against St. Augustine, and would certify to the "General Assembly that the same was Probable of being

*App. No. 11.

" attended with the success of taking that Garrison with an
" assistance from this Government of an expense amount-
" ing to the Sum of £129,000, that then the Publick of this
" Province would be willing to be at that Expense and to
" Provide for the same. To this both Houses agreed, and
" the Committee being further Directed to make a Calcula-
" tion of what number of Forces, quantity of Ammunition,
" Presents for Indians, Provisions, &c., might be transported
" to Augustine for that sum, Reported 9th February,* That
" the same was sufficient for the payment of Foot to con-
" sist of 8 Companies with 60 men each (besides Field Offi-
" cers), one Troop of Rangers 49 men, 300 white men or
" 400 negroes for Pioneers, with Utensils, Presents for 1,000
" Indians, 10,000 lbs. Powder, 20,000 Bullets, 20 Craft for
" Transportation, Contingent Charges and Provisions for
" ye whole, to be continued 6 months."† This Resolu-
tion was Communicated the next Day by the Lieut. Gover-
nour by Letter to the General, together with Certain articles
proposed by Both Houses to be stipulated with him for
carrying on the Expedition in Case he should undertake it.
To this the General by Letter to the Lieut. Governour, dated
27th Feb'ry, only Replied that he had Received his Honr's
Letter with papers Enclosed, and that If he could settle
things so that the Frontiers might not suffer by his absence,
he would come to Charlestown and consult with him and
The General Assembly, if not he should write more fully:

The General came to Charlestown the 23d March, and
by letter to the Governour, Dated 26th, which was laid
before the House, desired his Honour to acquaint the
" Assembly that he was come to consult measures with
" them for bringing that Enterprise to a happy Conclusion
" with the Smallest Expense of men and money, for which
" purpose it would be best Immediately, with what men
" could be had to make a sudden attempt, [if this] could not
" be Immediately made, that the only other measure would
" be the giving him at present such part of the assistance

---

* App. No. 12. † App. No. 13.

" proposed as might Keep the war on the other Side of St. " John's or Mathas River until the Fall, during which " time Preparations might be made for the Siege Expense " within the sum voted by the Assembly. To this he added, " That in case neither of those assistances could be given, " he should be obliged to Draw in the Troops from the " advanced Posts and bring the Regiments together for " making a vigorous Defense in one place, and If he was " put under the necessity, that he should lose the advantage " already gained by the taking St. Francis, which had cut off " the Communication of Augustine with the Appalachees " and 100 men of their Garrison then at St. Mark's, and " the Spaniards would again be masters of St. John's, of the " Path to the Creek Nation and to the French, and of mo- " lesting us from all parts. That this Speedy Return was abso- " lutely necessary to meet the Indians, who he expected were " upon the way and Some perhaps arrived on the Southern " Frontiers. Therefore he Desired a Speedy answer, and if " it was necessary farther to Explain the methods to be " taken, he was Ready to do it by Conference with the Com- " mittee of the General Assembly, If they desired it." The House having hereupon Signified their Desire to have an Estimate Laid before them of what number of men, &c., would be necessary for making the Sudden attempt on Augustine, mentioned by the General in the said Letter as the first method to be taken, the Lieut. Governour procured the same from the General and sent it down to the House, on the 29th March, 1740.* Therein the General proposed " That one Regiment of Foot should be raised Consisting " of 400 men, to be Engaged for 3 months, a Troop of " Rangers or Cattle Hunters (if they could be got time " enough), Provisions for the same for that time, and also " 500 Indians, 4 months, with presents of a Gun, Hatchet, " Blanket and some Paints each, vessels for Transportation " of the Forces, &c., Including a Company of his own then " at Port Royal, 5,000 wt. Powder, 10,000 wt. Bullets, 20,000

---

*App. No. 17.

" Flints, 200 Spades, Axes, Hoes, or Bills, Medicines and " Surgeons' Chests, 8 six pounders, 2 Small Brass Field " pieces at Port Royal, the mortar pieces here, and shells, " the Cohorns, as many shells as could be, 200 Rounds for " the Cannon, Mortar pieces, and Cohorns, 20 pair Cart " Wheels, Cartridge Paper, &c., &c., and a Sum for Contingen- " cies; adding that if these preparations could not be had " within 14 days, so as to set out from Charlestown within " that time, the Enterprise would hardly succeed, that if he " took the Town and the Castle should Capitulate, half the " Expenses first proposed could be saved. But if the Castle " should make a Resistance beyond Expectation, then the " Battering Cannon, Pioneers, Provisions for them, Presents " and Provisions for 500 more Indians, Powder and Bullets, " Utensils for the Pioneers, in the whole not Exceeding " £120,000 voted should be ordered so as he might open " Trenches in October, and Force Augustine by a Siege. " This was accompanied by a Letter to the Lieut. Gover- " nour,* wherein the General said that as it was all that " could be done, tho' more had been offered, that he would " undertake the attempt with that assistance, and that Capt. " Pearce had assured him that If we were Ready in 14 Days " he would assist the undertaking with his Majesty's ships " to the utmost, and Desired an Immediate answer that he " might send to Sr. Yelverton Peyton to join him with his " 40 Gun Ship then at Virginia." On Considering this Plan it was the unanimous opinion of the House that the supplies therein mentioned could not possibly be provided by the Government in so short a time as was Required, and therefore as the House had then the Greatest Reason to think that that Enterprise would not be undertaken, it directed their Committee to Join the Committee of the Upper House and to Enquire of the General what supplies he thought would be necessary to Keep the war on the other side of St. John's River. Accordingly there was a Conference of the Committees of Both Houses the

*App. No. 18.

same day, at which General Oglethorpe was Present, as was also Capt. Pearce, the Commodore of his Majesty's Ships then in these parts, and Capt. Warren and many other of the members of the two Houses. The General, being acquainted with the opinion and Direction of the House, still proposed making the sudden attempt upon St. Augustine, and offered to stay a longer time for the supplies. He Represented to the Committee "that he had "private Intelligence from St. Augustine that the Place was "in the utmost want of Provisions, that it was certain a "great part of the Garrison would Desert to him as soon as "he should appear there, and that he did not Doubt making "himself master of the Town the first night. That the mul-"titude of women and children who would be forced from "thence into the Castle must necessarily Distress that, which "being immediately followed by throwing in Several Bombs, "would undoubtedly produce a speedy surrender; that in "Case the Havannah should be taken by our Fleet before "we attempted this, the Spandiards would afterwards, in "all Probability, rather call in the French to St. Augustine "than let it fall into our hands. At the same time the "Commodore promised to give all the assistance in his "power to the Enterprise, declaring that he would answer "for it the Place should have no Relief by sea, and they "ought all to be hanged if they did not take it in a very "short time." These were Fresh and strong Inducements; here was a scheme that appeared rational and highly Probable of being attended with success. It Readily occurred to the Committee what Glorious Success had often Crowned attempts of such a nature merely from their Suddenness and a vigorous Execution of them. We had ourselves the Examples of Colonel Daniel and Colonel Palmer, who, tho' not bred soldiers, yet led on by their own Courage, happily Effected their sudden attempt which they made. In this we were to have a General who professed to have Learned the first Rudiments of war pretty early under Prince Eugene, a Regiment of the King's Troops, 5 men-of-war, then Certain, viz: The

Flamborough, Commodore Pearce; The Squirrel, Capt. Warren; The Phœnix, Capt. Franshaw; The Tartar, Capt. Townshend (all 20 Gun Ships): the Spence Sloop, Capt. Lanes, and 3 more expected in time, viz: The Colchester, Capt. Simonds, of 50 Guns; The Hector, Sr. Yelverton Peyton, of 40 Guns; and the Wolf Sloop, Capt. Dandridge, and a large Body of Indians, besides our own forces. On the other side, the utmost want of Provisions at Augustine; such another opportunity was like never to present again. Induced by these Reasons, as well as by a General Reflection on our cases: considering also that when we had done everything in our power for ourselves, If we miscarried we could have no Room to doubt of an effectual assistance from the Crown; Fired also with some ambition of sharing in the Glory of his Majesty's arms: The Committee in their Report Recommended it to the House to assist Genl. Oglethorpe in making an immediate attack upon Augustine with such Forces and necessaries as he thought sufficient for the Enterprise, according to his own Plan last mentioned, and to continue the same for one month Longer than he had proposed, being prevented from Recommending 6 months in the whole by the Captains of his Majesty's ships Declaring that they could not stay longer on the Coast, as the Hurricane season would come in before the Expiration of that Term. To this Both Houses having agreed, and the General having entered into some stipulations with the Government, an Act was passed April the 5th,* 1740, for carrying the same into Execution. An Expedi ion against St. Augustine being then concluded upon although on ye footing of a sudden and vigorous Effort being made, the Levies of men were instantly carried on with the greatest alacrity in so pleasing a Prospect of success. Several Gentlemen of Interest in the Country, discovering a Resolution to go as Volunteers in the Expedition independent of the other Forces, at their request the

---

* App. No. 42.

Lieut. Governour Commissioned Capt. Richard Wright, to command them, but Instructed him to obey the General in all times of action. This Company consisted of 47 men, viz: 32 Gentlemen, officers and men, and 15 Country Born Expert Trusty negroes (besides 8 settlement Indians who would join them and no others, and offered to serve on Horseback or foot, as occasion should Require). Lest the supply Granted Should not prove sufficient for the End proposed, the House voted an addition of 200 men more, besides which the Lieut. Governour purchased in order, at the Inlet of Metanses, at the southward of St. Augustine, a Large schooner, with 14 Carriage Guns and 12 Swivels, which might go where the men-of-war could not. She was manned with 54 men, and in order to make her as serviceable as possible, as the men-of-war might see fit, on some occasion or other, to put more men into her, that different Commands by Land or sea might not clash, the Lieut. Governour Gave the command of her to Mr. Tyrrel, Captain Warren's 2d Lieut., with directions to obey the orders of the Commodore. He also sent 12 Eighteen Pounders, to be at hand in case there should be occasion for them, and thus having so much Exceeded the General's own proposal, the Publick Relying on the Justice of its cause and the Divine assistance, pleased itself with the agreeable Expectation of success. In the meantime the Hector and Wolf, men-of-war, arrived from Virginia, as also a ship from England, Laden with warlike stores for the General, Containing everything fitting for a siege, amongst which was 600 lbs. of Gun Powder. And his Majesty's Declaration of war against Spain, coming to hand, was Proclaimed in form. The want of Provisions at St. Augustine was in the strongest manner Confirmed by Letters found on Board a Sloop which Capt. Warren had taken off St. Augustine Bound from thence to Havannah, giving a most melancholy account thereof, and also by 3 Deserters from Augustine. The Levies (agreed of men) to be furnished towards the Expedition were Completed within a month from the passing of the Act, Sooner than was Expected, and

having been Detached away from time to time with all the Provisions and Ammunition necessary to the General at St. Simon's, or if he was gone from there, to St. George's, on the north side of St. John's River, the place of Rendezvous appointed by him. Conll. Vanderdussen, to whom the chief Command of the forces was given by the Lieut. Governor (with Instructions to proceed according to the General's Directions during the time of action), Embarked on Board the Commodore the 9th and set sail the 12th of May. Your Committee having then taken a full view of the motives which Induced the Legislature to assist General Oglethorpe in an Expedition against St. Augustine, upon what footing it Engaged to do so, and the assistance to give thereto, will now proceed, as they at first proposed, to make a faithful narrative to the House of the manner in which the Expedition was Conducted by the General in the field from the time of his Landing in Florida.

NARRATIVE OF THE EXPEDITION.

On the 9th May, 1740,* General Oglethorpe, with what forces only were but Just then arrived at St. George's, the place of General Rendezvous agreed on, consisting of abt 220 men of his own Regiment, including an Independent Highland Company, 125 men of the Carolina Regiment,† being the first Detachment sent under the Command of Capt. Lieut. Maxwell and Ensign Blamyer and 103 Indians, of which 9 were Creeks, the rest Cherokees, there being then no other Field officers of Either Regiment on the spot, passed over from thence into Florida and encamped right opposite upon the Spanish side of St. Juan's River. Having

* App. No. 22.

† Here at the very outset is a contradiction of the assertion, often repeated, that the Carolinians were late in arriving at the appointed place of rendezvous. A portion of the Regiment reached it simultaneously with a part of that of General Oglethorpe.

Some writers, with strange inaccuracy, and injustice, even omit all mention of Carolinians among the forces engaged in the taking of Fort Diego.

sent out the Indians to reconnoitre the Country, they brought in a Negro Prisoner late at night, and gave an account of a Fort which they had seen about half way to St. Augustine. The Negro gave information that 4 Gallies were fitted and manned for this River.* On the 10th, in the morning, the General leaving only 20 Invalids of his own men and 25 sick or ailing men of the Carolinians, under the Command of Ensign Sterling, to Guard the Transports, Consisting of 2 sloops in his own service and 4 schooners in that of Carolina, on board of which was the Ammunition, Provisions, &c., and taking with him a 4 pounder and some swivel Guns, marched out of the Camp 200 of the King's Troops, 100 Carolinians, and 100 Indians, with 6 days' Provisions, to attack the above Fort. He camped that night at Lacawela (the first Palmetto Hut on the sea Beach, at about 16 miles distance, where the Spaniards had once a Lookout), where he was obliged to Leave the Guns,† the sands being deep, having no Horses to draw them, and the men being unable to carry them further. From thence he Detached Capt. Lieut. Maxwell, with a party of the Regular Troops and of the Carolina Regiment, and one Mr. Brown, with a party of Cherokees, to Invest the Fort, being about 9 miles further. On the 11th that party, at Break of day, attacked it and Burnt a House Just by it, but the Spaniards fired so strongly upon them that they were obliged to Retire. About 2 in the afternoon the General came up with the whole body, and having sent out the Indians to hunt up the Spanish Horses and Cattell, rode Round to view the Fort. The Spaniards continued firing till night, when he Surrounded the place with Guards and Centries. On the 12th, in the morning, the General sent one of his Spanish Prisoners with a Drum to summons the Garrison, which thereupon offered to Treat, and the Troops, upon being asked, having Declared that they were willing to give up their Claim of Plunder, the following articles of Capitulation were agreed upon:

---

* App. No. 23. † App No. 22.

1st. That the Garrison should surrender Prisoners of war and deliver up the Fort, with the Cannon and Stores, to the King of Great Britain.

2nd. That they should have liberty to Keep their Baggage, and not be Plundered.

3rd. That Seignior Diego Spinola, to whom the Fort belongs, being Built at his charge and on his Lands, should hold his Slaves, Lands and such other Effects as were not already plundered in the Field.

4th. That all the Deserters and Negro Runaways from Carolina should not have the Benefit of this Capitulation, but be Surrendered to Discretion.

The Garrison marched out, Consisting of 50 men (of which some were Negroes), amongst which was Don Diego Spinola. Lieut. Dunbar, of the General's Regiment, and Lieut. Saussure (DeSaussure), of the Carolina Regiment, with a party of each entered and took possession of the Fort, having 9 swivel Guns and 2 Carriage of 2 pound shot, beside small arms. It seems this place, well Known by the name of Fort Diego, being situated in fine Savanna Lands, with Fresh water Ponds, about 20 miles Distance from St. Augustine, and about 3 miles from the head of a Creek which hath its Entrance at the north point of that Barr, was properly a Cow Pen, belonging to the above Diego Spinola, a mulatto, who Keeping a Large Stock of Cattle there, supplied that Garrison frequently with Beef. For his own safety against Indians, he had pallisaded his House Round with Cedar Piles about 15 feet high, having 2 flankers, but no Ditch without. Of late the Governour of St. Augustine had spared him a sergeant and 16 men to defend in case of need, which were Relieved weekly by the like number, and it so Happening that the Relieving party came here the night before it was invested, was the Reason why so many were found in it. As soon as the Gate was taken possession of, an alarm came* that succours were come by water and the Horse by land to relieve the Garrison.

---

* App. No. 22.

1687337

Upon this the General marched to meet them. The Indians Discovered some Horsemen who rid off, and the General, going to the Landing place, about 3 miles from the Fort, found 2 large Launches that Rowed with 20 oars each, the men of which had forsook them. The Indians followed them on their track, but the Ground at Last proved so Thickety, it was to no purpose, yet they caught about 40 or 50 Horses. The General having marked out an Intrenchment to be made Round Fort Diego, and left Lieut. Dunbar in it with a Garrison of 50 men, returned to St. John's with a few Horse, Leaving the Rest of the Forces to march at Leisure with the Prisoners after him. The Day after the General marched from St. John's, persons who had the Care of the Craft, not thinking themselves safe where they Lay, on account of the Gallies chiefly, had run into the River under Cover of St. George's Fort, which was but a poor Shelter, for there were only two 4 pounders, one of which had a nail or bit Broke in the Touchhole. On the 13th,* the General went over to St. George's, where Lieut. Col. Cook, Major Heron and other officers, were arrived with another part of his Regiment, and waited for orders, and also some of the Carolina Regiment. On the 16th instant, as the Convoy arrived within sight of Fort Diego, some Spanish Indians from the woods having fired,† shot a servant who was leading the General's Horse, and Cut off his head. The General with the Highlanders and Troops entered the woods on foot, and having pursued them so hard that they were obliged to Drop the Head, followed them as far as the Negro Fort Moosa, within Sight of St. Augustine. There appeared 2 Spanish Launches on the River, and a Body of Horse and Foot. But they retired as soon as the English came within 2 miles of them. The Rangers caught 30 Horses, and took possession of several Houses, which the General preserved from Burning, some of them being spacious and good buildings, it seems, he thought fit for Quarters for the sick, &c. They all Returned to Fort St. Diego the same night,

---

* App. No. 22. † App. No. 22.

having marched that Day not less than 40 miles. On the 18th the General Recurned to the Camp at St. John's, where Lieut. Col. Lejeau, of the Carolina Regiment, had arrived just after he Left it the 15th, and Major Colleton and several other officers after him, with another part of that Regiment. The same day Col. Vanderdussen arrived on Board Commodore Pearce, in Company with the Phœnix, the Hector and Squirrel then lying off the Bar of St. Augustine. On the 19th the General went on board the Commodore and Returned. Again he made an agreement* with Diego Spinola, who was then at Liberty, to pay him for all his Cattle that should be Killed the same price as the King of Spain paid him for the use of Augustine Garrison; and also if he would go out with his people to hunt for Cattle, to allow him a Certain Price per head for all that he should drive up, not belonging to himself. The General also Published an order† forbidding any Person whatever to purchase any Horses from the Indians, so that even the officers of Either Regiment could have none to Carry their Baggage. On the 20th,‡ at 2 in the afternoon, the General having ordered to Beat to arms, Col. Vanderdussen went to him to Know the Reason. The General told him that he had Received an account by which he was informed that the Spaniards had sallied out of St. Augustine in order to attack Fort Diego, and had actually Invested the place. Major Heron was Detached away immediately with 50 men, and all the Rest ordered to march at Break of Day with 6 Days' Provisions. About 8 in the morning the General, taking Lieut. Col. Cook, marched, and leaving a Company in his Camp, marched with about 250 men of the Carolina Regiment, leaving 1 Company also in that Camp. The march was so hard and the Day so hot that 100 fainted for want of water, and Dropped by the way; 2 of the General's men died on the march. At Lacanola all the Troops of both Regiments halted till about sunset. But the General himself with ye Highland Company marched on, overtook

---

* App. No. 23. † App. No. 23. ‡ App. No. 24.

Major Heron and arrived in sight of Fort Diego before sunset. Having sent a Detachment to see how things were, they brought word that it was a false alarm, occasioned by the Garrison and Indians in the woods firing their arms to clean them after a Rain; which ye Hunters 'twas Said mistook. Then the General marked out a Camp, about the same time, Just before Sunset. The Troops ended their march from Laconola, having mounted on Carriage wheels the 4 Pounder which ye General had left there in the sands 10 Days before, and was now drawn by 20 men at one mile Distance, the way to Fort Diego striking up from the sand over a high Ridge of Land, the Gun was, with Great Difficulty, helped over by our men, and carried along after Diego Spinola, who was left by the General for a Guide to the Troops, and altho' the Distance they had to go farther was but 9 miles, He misled them so far out of the way that they did not reach Fort Diego till one in the morning. There, no place being alloted for our Troops, they were obliged to lie down where they halted. In the meantime the Prisoners which had been Carried down from Fort Diego to St. John's were this day just put aboard the man-of-war, and the rest by the General's officers on board the Carolina Transports, some of which Latter no way Searched, nor any Guard placed over them, made their escape. On the 21st, the General, taking Col. Vanderdussen with him, and Lieut. Col. Cook, Major Heron, and Capt. Horbury, all on Horseback, with a few Highlanders on Foot and some Indians, went from Fort Diego towards Augustine to Reconnoitre the Point near the Bar. They went on with such speed, the weather being very hot, that the Indians left them before they got half way: The Highlanders dropped down by the way, one of which died in the march, and Lieut. Col. Cook and Capt. Horbury, both in years, and very faint from excessive heat and want of water, by the General's Directions returned back. The General, Col. Vanderdussen and Major Heron Kept on and went within a league of Augustine, in sight of the Island Anastatia, having viewed the Ground, they got back to Fort Diego about 2 in the

morning, heartily fatigued, having left their Horses at last unable to walk. On the 22nd, the General and Col. Vanderdussen went down to the Camp at St. John's, where Lieut. Col. Cook was gone before, in order to get up the ammunition and Provisions to Fort Diego. That day another part of the Carolina Regiment arrived there, as also Lieut. Bryan, with part of the Company of Volunteers. On the 23rd, a small party was sent out of the Carolina Camp at Fort Diego to scout towards Augustine, and Returned that Evening. On the 24th, a party of 64 men of the Carolina Regiment marched from ye Camp at St. John's to Fort Diego with Provisions, the Volunteers Joining them: a party of the General's also marched from thence with a Cart Load of Provisions for their men at Diego. About this Time the General sent to Augustine two of the Spanish Prisoners which he had taken at Fort Diego, with Letters to Encourage, as he said, the men of that Garrison to desert to him, promising good usage, &c., but they never returned. On the 25th, a small party was sent out of the General's Camp at Fort Diego, to scout and returned again, and another small party was sent from the Carolina Camp there to that at St. John's. On the 25th, a small party was sent out of the Carolina Camp at Fort Diego to scout and return again. The same day, in the evening, the General, Leaving Lieut. Col. Cook with a party of 40 or 50 men, with the artillery, &c., at St. John's, set out with another party of his men for Fort Diego. On the 27th, that part of the Carolina Regiment which came to ye Camp at St. John's the 25th, returned to that at Fort Diego; at the same time a Boat with Provisions and a party of our men was sent to the Palmetto Hut (Lacanola), and Col. Vanderdussen went there with a small party to see them land, but the Southerly wind preventing it, he returned with some men of another party, that had come from Fort Diego to carry them up. The same day Lieut. Col. Lejeau Sent out of the Camp at Fort Diego a Large party in order to Discover a Creek reported to be about 4 miles, by which he was in hopes the Provisions might be brought from St. John's. The General also,

in the evening, marched out of his Campt at Fort Diego about 100 men of his Regiment, with Lieut. Bryan, and 6 of the Volunteers and a party of Indians. On the 20th, the General having marched all night,* about Daybreak coming within 5 or 6 miles of Augustine, he came in sight of 5 scattered Houses, in Some of which Smoke appeared. Thereupon having caused the whole body to halt at about a Quarter of a Mile Distance, he ordered Lieut. Bryan with 6 Volunteers under him only to march up and attack those Houses; the Volunteers obeyed, entered, and searched every one of them, and having Brought forth 2 Negro Prisoners (Some others Escaping for want of more assistance), The General then advancing with the whole party said: "Well, I see the Carolina men have Courage, but no Conduct." On which Lieut. Bryan Replied, Sir, the Conduct is yours. The Volunteers would have Burnt the Houses, but the General Refused to permit them to do it; saying that they would serve for the Inhabitants that he should bring there. The 2 Negroes having confessed that they were Carolina Negroes (the one having Runaway from Mr. Parker, and the other having been carried away by the Indians from Col. Gibbes), and they being, according to one of the stipulations† with the General, Returnable to the owners upon paying £5 Sterling per head to the Captors, the Volunteers offered to pay him one-half the salvage and Keep them, or to Receive one-half and give them up to him; but the General, claiming a property in them, Refused both and took them to himself. It seems that the General had also before, at Diego, taken away from those Volunteers several Horses which they had caught to carry their Baggage, and altho' Cattle were very Plenty, yet it was with great difficulty that they could, whilst they were there, obtain any Fresh Provisions, being generally left to shift for themselves, tho' the General was frequently acquainted with it, who said Diego Spinola should be paid for all that were Killed. This day the Party sent out by the Carolina Camp at Fort

---

* App. Nos. 28 and 37. † App. No. 29.

Diego the Day before, Returned without making the Expected Discovery, and a fresh Party was sent down to Palmetto Hut to assist in carrying up the Prisoners. The same day Col. Vanderdussen, in the morning Early, in the Camp at St. John's, Struck most of the Tents which, with a Quantity of Provisions, &c., were put on Board Boats and sent away to the Palmetto Hut (Lacanola). He went himself with a party of men to see the same Landed, and returned again that night. On the 29th, at Day Break, all the Tents in the Camp at St. John's were Struck and everything put on board Boats to be sent to the Palmetto Hut. At the same time another part of the Carolina Regiment arrived there in the afternoon. Col. Vanderdussen, having orders to Beat to arms, marched all the men to the Palmetto Hut from thence, leaving nothing at St. John's but the Transports with Provisions, ammunition, &c. Lieut. Col. Lejeau had marched down to the Palmetto Hut, from Fort Diego, 250 men, who carried up thither most of the Provisions, &c. The General Returned that night late* to Fort Diego with the party which he carried from thence the 27th. The 2 Negroes which had been taken gave information that the People of Augustine were in a Starving Condition. On the 30th, Col. Vanderdussen, leaving a small party to Guard the Provisions, &c, Remaining at the Palmetto Hut, marched from thence and came to the Camp at Fort Diego; there the Carolina Regiment, viz: So much of it was then arrived, being ordered under arms by the Colonel,† was reviewed by the General. The Field Return was 378 men, besides Field Officers, Volunteers and Cadets. In the evening, Ensign Mace, with a Detachment of 42 men from Both Regiments, was sent to take Post on Augustine Point.

About this time many of the Creek Indians, a fresh party of which had Joined the General at St. John's, with Thomas Jones,‡ who being of Indian Extract, was Employed by him as a Linguist to the Creeks and Euchees and to head them,

---

* App. No. 30. † App. No. 31. ‡ App. No. 32.

being Tired with Constant fatigue Day and Night in Rangeing near 3 weeks only Backward and forward, and disheartened that there was no prospect of attacking Augustine, returned home. It seems the General had ordered Jones to Keep out Constantly Scouting Round the Country with these Indians to watch the Enemy's Motions, and to Endeavour to take some Prisoners. But Positively Enjoined him not to permit the Indians to destroy any Houses, and Jones had often told the General that they would soon be tired with that way of Proceeding, for that they loved to go and do their Business at once and return home again, to which the General had Replied, if they have a mind to go home don't Disturb them, let them go. The Cherokees also grew weary and were disgusted* because the General had shewed some anger for their Killing some Cattle at Diego, and would not permit them to do it. Cæsar, one of their Head Men, said it was a strange thing that they were permitted to Kill the Spaniards, but not their Cattle, and Threatened to Carry all his men home. On the 31st, the General told Col. Vanderdussen† that the 2 negroes he had taken informed him that the Spaniards would place their Indians and Negroes in ambuscade at some distance from Augustine, and that their Troops were to sally out upon the appearance of our army, and ordered him to get his Regiment in Readiness to march, with 5 Days' Provisions, to reconnoitre‡ the Town and Castle of Augustine, all the accounts Yet Given of it not being to be Relied on. In the Evening the General‖ marched out of his Camp about 300 men (including the Highland Company and Rangers), with the Indians, taking the 4 pounder drawn by soldiers and a Spanish Negro for Guide, who had Deserted from Augustine to Fort Diego, was at Large, and stiled by the General, Capt. Jack. Col. Vanderdussen followed with about 400 of his Regiment§ (including Volunteers and Cadets), but the men would not Carry above 3 Days' Provisions. The march proved Tedious on account of the many Palmetto Roots,

* App. No. 28. † App. No. 33. ‡ App. No. 25.
‖ App. No. 25. § App. No. 33.

Marshes and Creeks in the Path, which made it Difficult to Carry the Gun along, and obliged them to make Causeys for it. About one in the morning the whole *army* halted by a Run of water* at about 12 miles Distance, and lay on their arms all the rest of the night. On the 1st June, at 4 in the afternoon, the army Renewed the march, with the like Difficulties. At ten o'clk a Great thunder Storm, Lightning and Rain coming up,† made Both men and arms very wet. They continued marching, it being so Dark that nothing could be seen before them (tho' after some time the weather cleared up), until they came to Some Palmetto Houses, where they Halted about one Hour. At 12 o'clock the moon Rising, the army marched again, at last left the Gun behind them. On the 2nd, before Day, they got to a Dividing Path within 2 miles of St. Augustine, one way leading thither, and the other to the Negro Fort Moosa, a little way off to the left hand, where the army halted. Here Col.‡ ———, who attended the General in the Expedition as a Volunteer,‖ at his particular desire, because he had been at the head of an Expedition in 1727 against the Spanish Indians living close by Augustine, offered to go in at the head of 200 Carolinians and a Party of Indians and burn the Town,§ which the General Refused, saying it was too hot-headed or hazardous an action,¶ that he knew what he had to do;° that it was the Custom of armies to shew them-

---

* App. No. 34. † App. No. 35.

‡ The name is omitted—probably by accident. The blank should undoubtedly be filled with the name Palmer. For we know from other sources that he was sent in 1727 to punish a party of Yemassees led by Spaniards, who had invaded settlements near Pon Pon. Indeed this is mentioned in the Introduction to this Report.

‖ App. No. 36. § App. No. 37. ¶ App. No. 38.

° This brings to mind an amusing and illustrative passage in Lord Macaulay's writings. Its pertinence will be obvious to the reader:

"M. Jourdain admired correctness in fencing—'you had no business to hit me then; you must never thrust in quart until you have thrust in tierce.' * * * We have heard of an old German Officer who was a great admirer of correctness in military operations. He used to revile Buonaparte for spoiling the science of war which had been carried to such exquisite perfection by Marshal Daun; 'in my youth we used to march

selves to the Enemy first and make a feint. It seems Col. Palmer* had several times upon his march proposed the same thing, but the General always Refused it, and often said that he would not, by any means, have the Town burnt;† adding, when he Halted that the Houses would be very serviceable to him. The General, soon Renewing the march, took the left hand Path,‖ and Just about Day Break entered Fort Moosa, which had been abandoned. This Fort, being about 20 miles from Fort Diego, was made in the middle of a Plantation for Safety of the Negroes against Indians; it was 4 Square, with a Flanker at each Corner, banked Round with earth, having a Ditch without on all sides, Lined round with Prickly Palmetto Royal, and had a well and a House within, and a lookout. As soon as the Forces were perceived from the Castle the Guns were played from thence towards them. At 8 or 9 o'clock the General went with Col. Vanderdussen to Reconnoitre the Castle, and ordered the Drums with a party to advance a good Distance towards it, and there to Beat the Grenadier's march, which being accordingly done, was answered by the Cannon from the Castle.§ They found it to be a Regular Fortification, and very strong, with a great many new additions, and agreed that it would Be impracticable to attack it upon that side without those materials which they could not bring By Land, they being too heavy; But observed that Point Quartell, which lies on the north of the Bar, and separated from the Negro Fort by a Creek, would be very

---

and countermarch all the summer without gaining or losing a square league—and then we went into winter quarters. And now comes an ignorant but hot-headed young man who flies about from Boulogne to Ulm, and from Ulm to the middle of Moravia, and fights battles in Deg'r!! The whole system of his tactics is monstrously incorrect.'

The world is of opinion, in spite of critics like these, that the end of fencing is to hit; that the end of war is to conquer; and that those means are the most correct which best accomplish the ends."

Marshal Daun flourished in the middle of the last century—so did General Oglethorpe—perhaps some apology for the General may be found in a too great admiration of the perfect science of the Marshal.

* App. No. 39. † App. No. 28. ‡ App. No. 38.

‖ App. No. 39. § App. No. 40.

fit for a Battery, in order to Secure a Communication with the men-of-war. At the same time, Lieut. Bryan, of the Volunteers, with 3 or 4 of the Rangers, went almost Close up to the Town, and brought off 3 Horses: he perceived the Town was in the utmost tumult and Confusion, the Inhabitants screeching and crying. Upon his Return, told the General of it, and hearing himself talk of withdrawing the Forces, he asked the General if it would not be best to attack the Town *then; that was the Time* to do it; for that If he Retreated they would make preparations against his Return. To which the General Replied, that If he attempted to storm the Town, he should lose 300 men;* at the same time the men Discovered a Desire to attack it;† and as it appeared afterwards by Deserters, the Government had ordered the Inhabitants, in Case of an attack, to go into the Castle.‡ In the afternoon‖ a violent Shower of Rain fell, and tho' the House§ in the Fort Moosa was big enough to have Contained all the arms of Both Regiments, besides a great part of the men, Yet the Carolina Arms in particular, being exposed, were Rendered unfit for action, and some of the Volunteers as well as officers of the Carolina Regiment, having betaken themselves for shelter to that House (where some of the General's officers as well as privates were), were obliged to Turn out again into the weather, by the General's severely Reprimanding his Centinel at the Doors for letting them in, saying that he could not be Guilty of a Greater Crime, and that he deserved a Thousand lashes. In the Dark of the Evening the General went out again towards the Castle¶ with 150 men and a great many Drums, the Drums being at a great distance from each other in the Dark, Beat a march in Several Parties, which set the People in the Castle to firing their Cannon and small arms in platoons all Round them; after which the General Returned, having done this, he said, to Disturb them that they might not Disturb us. This night one of the General's men Deserted to the Enemy at Sun Rise. On the 3d the General having made 2 Breaches

* App. No. 28. † App. No. 28. ‡ App. No. 25
‖ App. No. 39. § App. Nos. 28 and 37. ¶ App. No. 39.

in the Fort Moosa, taken away the Gate, and burnt the House therein, altho' he was told that might serve for an Hospital, marched Back to Fort Diego with Drum beating and Colours flying. Being out of Provisions, the men willingly performed a hard march, but many of the General's men, greatly fatigued, gave out and dropped upon the march: upon which the General ordered any man that lagged behind to be shot. They Reached Fort Diego before sun-set; there they found Ensign Mace, Returned the Day before in the morning from Augustine Point, who had on the 1st seen 6 English men-of-war and a sloop come to Augustine Bar, and seeing 2 Spanish Gallies, upon their discovering him, coming towards him, thought proper to march off the Day before, and this Day a party had been sent from the Carolina Camp at Fort Diego to the Palmetto Hut for Provisions, against the Return of the Troops, which brought Information that the Wolf and Spence sloop of war were lying off that Place. This night the Chicasaw Indians arrived in the Camp. On the 4th the Euchee Indians arrived also, and a party was sent from the Carolina Camp to St. John's, with orders to furnish with necessaries Some more men of that Regiment, then supposed to be arrived there, and to forward them to Fort Diego. In the afternoon Col. Vanderdussen went down to the Palmetto Hut. Several officers and men had leave to go also to look after their Baggage, which, upon their quick marching thence, they had been obliged to Leave there. On the 5th all the Volunteers* then at Diego (Except Col. Barnwell, who Stayed and acted as an Aid de Camp to the General, and one more), being Disgusted at the Treatment they had met with and Disappointed in their Expectation of attacking the Town of St. Augustine, Returned to St. John's with a Resolution to go home again.† There meeting with the

* App. Nos. 28 and 37.

† These Volunteers had joined the Expedition with the expectation, to which Gen. Oglethorpe's letters and words had given rise, that "a sudden and vigorous effort" was to be made. They had not enlisted for a term. The failure of the plan they came to assist absolved them from obligation to take part in a siege.

Rest of the Company of Voluntiers Just arrived, Lieut. Bryan proceeded no Further himself, but Joined them. The Tartar, man-of-war, came to anchor off the Palmetto Hut,* in order to water and to Deliver a Letter from the Commodore to the General. She had on board Several stores from Carolina for the Expedition, a fresh Detachment of men, and Capt. Wright, of the Volunteers. Col. Vanderdussen, who Returned in the morning early from the Palmetto Hut,† Received orders from the General to march with the Carolina Regiment and take possession of Point Quartell. Accordingly, at 5 in the evening, with no more Provisions than was sufficient for the next day, and that, for want of Horses, carried on their backs, together with their Tents, &c. He marched all of the Regiment that were able to march. They proceeded down to sea about 3 miles to the 2nd Palmetto Hut, about 6 miles Distance from the other, then marched along the Beach 'til about 12 o'clock and Halted, being greatly Tired. On the 6th, about 6 in the morning,‡ they Reached Point Quartell, in Sight of St. Augustine Castle, supposed to be within a Cannon Shot, and Encamped‖ behind a Ridge of Sand Hills, 4 men-of-war appearing then in Sight lying off the Bar, Viz: the Flamborough, the Hector, Squirrel, and Phœnix, and 3 more were lying off the Palmetto Hut, Viz: The Tartar, Wolf, and Spence. Col. Vanderdussen sent orders to St. John's for the Boats to bring Provisions Round, and Desired Capt. Townshend, of the Tartar, to Land the 18 Pounders and their Carriages at this Point. Six Gallies appeared in Sight, being under the Castle, each of them, as was found afterwards, Rowed with 20 oars, and had a cashoo piece or 9 pounder in the Bow, Some Swivel Guns fore and aft, 30 men and 2 officers, and had come there from the Havanna, with 2 Sloops Loaded with Provisions,§ before the Troops got to the place of Rendezvous. In the afternoon the Centry on the Hill gave notice that 3 of the Gallies were in motion, coming down to the Point. Col. Vanderdussen, thinking

* App. No. 42. † App. No. 43. ‡ App. No. 44.
‖ App. No. 45. § App. No. 46.

they were going to Land men to attack him, ordered the Regiment under arms and Marched along the Beach toward the Point, which was about a Quarter of a mile Distance. The Gallies, directed by the Colours, Kept an alternate fire and Shortened their Powder so well that not one shot fell 20 yards from the men. Having opened the Castle, Col. Vanderdussen caused the Regiment to halt, and perceiving that the Gallies were not inclinable to Land any men, he ordered them to the Right about and marched Slowly Back till they got under cover. The Gallies having fired about 20 Shots (some of which were taken up and Carried into the Camp), Retired back to the Castle. The Commodore having by this firing Discovered the Regiment to be there,* sent 3 Boats ashore with his own Lieut. and those of the Hector and Phœnix, who Delivered to Col. Vanderdussen the following Resolution of a Council of War, held by the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships off the Bar of Augustine, on Board the Flamborough, the day before ye, 5th June, which he desired him to communicate to the General, Viz:

PRESENT:

CAPT. VINCENT PEARCE.
SR. YELVERTON PEYTON, BART.
CAPT. CHARLES FANSHAWE.
CAPT. PETER WARREN. CAPT. WILLIAM LAWS.

General Oglethorpe having desired to Know the longest time his Majesty's Ships can stay upon this Coast, the opinion of the Council was demanded thereon, and having examined the Pilots of all his Majesty's Ships here, 'Tis Our Unanimous Opinion that we cannot stay here Longer than the 5th July next without running the utmost Hazard of his Majesty's Ships going on shore, but in Case the Easterly winds should sett in we must Depart sooner. Then the question was put, what further service we could do towards the Reduction of St. Augustine? It is agreed by the Council that If General Oglethorpe Besieges the Fortress we will

* App. No. 47.

spare 200 men more to attack and take possession of the Island of Eustatia, which appears to be absolutely necessary towards the Reduction of St. Augustine, as it will cut off the Communications by sea, which will answer the End of the Ships till the Season of the Year will admit of their Returning on the Service.

VINCENT PEARCE.
YELVERTON PEYTON.
CHARLES FANSHAWE.

The Island of Eustatia, or Anastatia, in the Bay opposite, the North end of which, together with Point Quartell, formed the Inlet to St. Augustine over the Bar used by the Vessels of Burden, and the South end, with the Land opposite thereto, formed the Inlet Called the Mantansas, by which small vessels usually entered. In the mean time, the General, having received the Letter sent him from the Commodore by the men-of-war off the Palmetto Hut, was heard to say, after having Read it, that would do, it was the thing he wanted.* On the 7th Col. Vanderdussen, having with a small party gone all Round Point Quartell and Viewed the Place,† sent, as Desired, by Express to the General the above Resolution of the Council of War, held by the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships, and at same time acquainted him that he had viewed the Ground where he was, and that he did not think there could be found a place so convenient for covering our men and Planting a Battery to Command the River and Keep the Gallies in awe, as at the Point. The Mortars might be placed under cover of some Hills and within half Gun Shot of the Castle, and If it should be necessary to make a Battery for Battering the Town, that it might be done without being Exposed to their Guns, and that he had desired the Commodore to Send for Capt. Townshend, with all from the Palmetto Hut, in order to Land the Guns and Carriages there which he had on board. Soon after Col. Vanderdussen Dispatched another Letter‡ to the General, Representing to him that having heard his

* App. No. 42. † App. No. 49. ‡ App. No. 50.

officers had stopped the Boat which he had ordered to take in Provisions for him at Palmetto Hut, as he had no Provisions but what was to have been Brought in that Boat, he had, therefore, been Obliged to Send some of his men to fetch what they could, which could not be much, for that they were not yet Recovered of their last march, and hardly able to Perform a Second without a Load, and Desired, as he had no Horses, that the General would order that Boat to be Delivered to his men that he might bring Provisions, and be then ready to take the great Guns ashore, for which purpose he had no other. In the evening that party of men which came from Carolina in the Tartar got into the Camp at Point Quartell. On the 8th, at 3 in the morning, Col. Vanderdussen Received an Express* from the General, acquainting him that he had ordered the Scotch Highlanders, Rangers, and some Indians, with a fresh Company of the Carolina Regiment, Commanded by Capt. Bull, just arrived at John's, and then on his march, by the Col.'s orders to Join the Regiment, to march and Retake Possession of the Negro Fort. Afterwards the Commodore sent his Boat ashore and informed† Col. Vanderdussen that he had sent 2 men-of-war to the Palmetto Hut to Receive the General aboard, with 200 men of his Regiment, in order to carry them Round‡ to the Island Anastatia. Upon this the Col. wrote Back to the Commodore that he had received that morning a letter from the General, by which he Informed him that he had sent the above party to Retake possession of the Negro Fort, but that he did not say anything of his going to Embark on board those ships; That If the same was put in Execution, he took it to be a very great disservice to the whole affair, for that it would Leave the Gallies masters of the Harbour, to stop all Communications between them but that by the sea, which was very uncertain. But if his opinion was to be followed, which was also Col. Cook's, he would have all the Guns and other Implements of war Landed at that Point, or at Least as many as should be found necessary, and then Raise their Batteries,

* App. No. 51. † App. No. 53. ‡ App. No. 52.

which would make them masters of the Harbour, when they might pass over at Pleasure with their Boats, and the men-of-war to assist them, and might march across with part of their men to secure the Matansas, leaving Col. Cook there with the Rest to manage the Batteries and Bombs, and might secure themselves in the same manner a passage over the South of the Town without being hurt by the Gallies, by which they would be Harrassed on all sides without having it in their Power to help themselves, or hurt us. That as he should not have an opportunity to see the General, he Desired that he would take this a Little into his Consideration. Col. Vanderdussen dispatched also the following Letter to the General at the Camp of St. Augustine:

JUNE THE 8TH, 1740.

SIR: I Received Your Excellency's Letter at 3 o'clock this morning. Captain Pearce's Boat is Just come ashore, and I have sent her Back to desire some Provisions. He informs me by a Letter that he had Sent down Capt. Warren and Capt. Laws to Receive Your Excellency on board, with 200 men of your Regiment, in order to Carry Round to the Island, which will, in my opinion, be a wrong step, and I am afraid may overset the whole in Retarding the time, which is so short by the Resolution of the Council of War, and therefore ought to be made the most of; and it will also Leave the Enemy at Liberty on the Island side to fetch their Cattle and other Provisions, therefore am of opinion that nothing can be of Greater service than the Fortifying of this Point, as I have mentioned before, which would secure a passage across without any interruption. And If your Excellency will only Send Round the Craft I will undertake to Land all the Guns and everything else that is necessary. Therefore I beg your Excellency to give orders that the Boat belonging to Col. Stephens that was stopped by your order may be Delivered to my People, as it is not Possible to bring Round my Provisions and other

necessaries, it not being possible to have any Dependence upon the other Boats sailing up here, as the wind stands.

I remain your Excellency's most humble servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

The same day Lieut. Col. Cook, who had been left by the General in the Camp at St. John's, with the Artillery and Provisions, wrote to Col. Vanderdussen the following Letter:

St. Mathew's, June 8th, 1740.

Sir: *I had a Letter from the General this morning, about 3 o'clock, with yours enclosed, by which I am sorry to hear you are in such distress for want of Provisions. I am Extremely Concerned to find we are going on Entirely in a new System of war, in Beginning, as I call it, at the wrong end, which puts me quite out of Element. I have been at the attack as well as the Defense of several Places of considerable strength, and always found that the Greatest care and stress lay in the bringing up of the Train with Good Magazines and Stores of Provisions near at hand; but here I find it quite otherwise. I had orders some Days ago to put on board everything that lay upon the strand in the Camp, before which had drawn the two Providence Mortars to Diego. I shipped one of the Howitzers with some spoils on board one of your Schooners, the Dorchester, and the 4 six pounders with shot, and a pretty many shells on board the Sarah for all the Different Mortars as well as for the Large Mortar now on Board the Commodore. Mr. Wright tells me you have ordered all the Boats and Vessels belonging to the Province of Carolina to come Immediately to you, excepting two, which are Landed [loaded] with Provisions. Now the General's orders are that those two Boats are to be sent to you, and all the Rest to anchor (for these are his words) off of the South shore in safety, as Mr. Logie Directs. Now I suppose he means in this Harbour, tho' Logie (and several others) is not of that opinion. However they are to stay in the said place till further orders from his Excellency,

* App. No. 54.

who tells he is then going aboard a man-of-war, but lets me no further into the secret of his Expedition. I have Likewise his orders to remove all the Camp from the Banks of the River of St. Mathews to the Palmetto Hut, the nearest to Diego, there to Encamp. As I have long since mounted one of the Howitzers on Machine Carriages for that Purpose I shall bring it to that place, and shall fetch the 2 Providence Mortars from Diego, and hope your assistance to draw them from thence to Point Quartell, since by your Letter to his Excellency [it appears] that no place can be more convenient, as you find the said Hills there Batteries ready made for that purpose. I am persuaded that neither he nor any others can find fault with that conduct. I am told in Private that the General is gone with the men-of-war to the Matansas, otherwise I should venture to send out Dorchester and Sarah, with the Rest of the Train, up to Point Quartell. But If they should be all gone, the Gallies might come out and sweep our whole Train, &c., from us, but I am in hopes such an error as that could never be committed in any Council of War. I have no more to add, but I am

Your most faithfull humble servant,

WILL'M COOK.

P. S.—I was in hopes to have marched this day, but have been Delayed in Removing the Provisions from one Boat to another.

This Day Col. Vanderdussen applied* to the Commodore for some Provisions, who sent him ashore some Bread, Beef and Pork, and a party of men was also sent to the Palmetto Hut for Rice. In the mean time the General at Fort Diego gave orders to the following party to be ready to march the next Day to Fort Moosa, Viz: Capt. McIntosh, with the Independent Highland Company of about 60 men, a Sergeant and 12 men of the Regiment, 23 Rangers, Viz: Capt. Hugh McKay, with 11 Georgians, and Capt. Wm. Palmer, with 10 Carolinians, in the General's pay, and Thos Jones,

* App. Nos. 22, 36, 37.

with 35 Creek and Euchee Indians, making in the whole not Less than 130 nor more than 133 men. Capt. Palmer (who was employed* in this Expedition by the General, with his men,† Cowpens or to drive up Cattle and Horses for his own use, for which Last he was to have, Besides his pay, £40 for every Horse and £30 for every Mare he should catch, and was particularly Enjoyned not to Destroy any Houses If the People had Quitted them) was ordered to make Excursions from Moosa, and Jones also was Directed to Keep the Indians always out Scouting. The Command of the whole Party was verbally given by the General to Col. Palmer,‡ with Directions to Alarm the Spaniards in St. Augustine as often as he could, and to Camp every night in the woods. The Col. told the General that the men were too few, and that he should have at Least 200 white men. The General Replyed that If he was unwilling to go, he would send one of his own officers, upon which the Col. said he would go. The General, However, assured him that he would send more men to him.§ On the 9th¶ the above party set off for Fort Moosa, having no more Provisions with them than what they Carried in their Knapsacks, which, it seems, was Eight pounds of Bread Each, ordered by the General. Before they Departed, Col. Palmer repeated to the General that he had too few men, and added, Sir: You are going to sacrifice these men,‖ to which the General answered, that as soon as he had taken possession of the Island Anastatia he would send him more assistance. Soon after they were gone, the General, Leaving Fort Diego Garrisoned as before, marched** down to the nearest Palmetto Hut on the Sea Beach, there meeting with Capt. Bull and his Company, who the day before, on his march to Joyn the Carolina Regiment, by orders, in writing, from Col. Vanderdussen, had Received a Verbal order from him to

---

* App. No. 36.

† Evidently some words are here omitted, perhaps, "to search for" cowpens, &c.

‡ App. Nos. 35 and 36.

§ App. Nos. 64 and 37.

¶ App. Nos. 32 and 37.

‖ App. No. 32.

** App. No. 36.

Joyn Col. Palmer, he countermanded that order, and ordered him to proceed to Point Quartell, then he embarked on board the men-of-war there with his Regiment, then consisting of 257 officers and men (having only 10 Days' Provisions and Scarce any ammunition but what was in their Cartouch Boxes), and about 100 Indians. This Day Lieut. Col. Lejeau went from the Camp at Point Quartell to St. John's to order out all the Carolina Transports there, Except that with the Indian Presents, Round to that Point, in his way finding the Boat with Rice and Meat on board, which the General stopped at the Palmetto Hut nearest to St. John's, where Ensign Gough had been Left with a Guard to take care of the Carolina Provisions, &c., Landed there, he ordered her away Directly to the Camp at Point Quartell. The same Day Lieut. Col. Cook moved the Camp from St. John's and marched along the Beach with one Howitzer, drawn by about 50 men. On the 10th, in the morning, having seen all the Transports put out, and ordered from St. John's one of them to touch and take in those things which Lay at the Palmetto Hut, Lieut. Col. Lejeau Returned Back. On his way he ordered Ensign Gough at the Hut to put on board that vessel Everything under his care. Whilst he was there, Diego Spinola came there on Horse Back, under no Guard, and in the Evening coming to the further Hut, he found only a Sergeant and 5 men, Guarding the General's Provisions,* &c., Left there. This Day a party of the Spanish Indians, who had Landed in the night, not above a mile from the Carolina Camp at Point Quartell, fell upon Some Cherokees on the Sea Beach, who were going to it, and Killed two of them. Col. Vanderdussen marched 3 Companies Immediately, upon whose Approach they fled. He pursued them back through the Bushes to the water side of St. Juan's River, behind the Camp, where they Got on board their Boat, the Gallies coming at the same time to Support them. Capt. Bull, with his Company, got into the Camp at Point Quartell. The party which the General sent with Col. Palmer arrived at

*App. No. 57.

Fort Moosa,* all but the Rangers, entered immediately, and began to Encamp within. The Colonel Disapproved of it, and signified that it was the General's Directions to Camp by night in the woods; he told them that that Place might prove a grave to them (as it had been dismantled), and that he had much Rather Encamp anywhere in open Ground, where he could fight his Enemy Round about wherever he could find an advantage; but McIntosh and McKay neither paid any Regard thereto, but got each to making a Palmetto House for themselves as well as the men. The Colonel, thus not being obeyed, camped with the Rangers without the Fort. In the afternoon, Col. Vanderdussen, perceiving from Point Quartell English Colours Hoisted in Fort Moosa, and being Desirous to open a Communication, Sent a man,† who swam across the River, with a Letter to that purpose, Directed to the Commanding officer, which Letter was Received, opened, and answered by Capt. Hugh McKay. On the 11th, in the morning, a fresh party was sent out of the Camp at Point Quartell to meet that which was Expected Back from the Palmetto Hut with the Rice, In order to prevent their being surprised, and in the afternoon both parties Returned to the Camp with Provisions. A Messenger arrived in the Camp from Lieut. Col. Cook, desiring a Party of men to assist him in Drawing the Howitzer, his men being weary;‡ upon which Col. Vanderdussen sent him a party of 50 men. The General, by Letters from on board the Spence, man of-war, acquainted Col. Vanderdussen that he proposed to Land the next morning, at 4 o'clock, upon the Island Anastatia with what men he had there, about 200 Sailors, under the *Command* of Capt. Warren, Capt. Laws and Capt. Townshend, and the Indians; that he should want all the Craft he had, which he Desired that he would send Immediately. The General also sent him some Provisions, which he said that, Knowing the want he was in, he had obtained from the Commodore for him, together with 2 four Pounders, Bullets, &c., which he said

* App. Nos. 32, 36 and 37. † App. Nos. 58 and 62.

‡ App. Nos. 59 and 60.

should be mounted to drive off the Gallies; and that If he carried the Island he should have an easy Communication with him, that he should drive out the Gallies, and all our Craft could come in and lie with safety within the Bar.* Capt. Warren's Surgeon came ashore in one of the Boats which brought those Letters, who told Col. Vanderdussen that his Captain had Desired him to take the Distance of the Castle from the utmost Point by a Compass. Accordingly the Colonel sent a party with him. Upon his Return he said it was two miles Distance from the Castle, and therefore not fit for a Bomb Battery.† Col. Vanderdussen wrote Back to the General that he had Received the 2 four pounders, but was obliged to drop them at High Water Mark till he should get purchase to put them on the Carriages, that the 6 pounders (meaning those belonging to the Phœnix.) Expected Round in the Transports, would be of little service, the Gallies having 9 pounders, which would keep out of their Reach. However that he should place them to the best advantage; that the 3 nine pounders on board Captain Townshend would be of Much more Service, and that if he would give orders to Land them, he would send a Boat to take them and the Carriages ashore, without any Trouble to them, and Likewise as many of the 18 pounders as might be thought proper to be Landed at the Point, where he thought they would be of more Service than anywhere else; that Capt. Warren's Doctor, who had come ashore in the Boats, told him that the Captain Desired him to take the distance from the utmost Point by a Compass; that accordingly he had sent a party with him, and that upon his Return he said it was 2 miles Distance from the Castle, and therefore not fit for a Bomb Battery; that he could not apprehend which way he took his measure. However, if what he said Should be true, that it was Certainly the Best place for a Battery, in order to Command the River and keep the Gallies in awe, and also to Transport the Mortars across to any other place that might be found Necessary. But that they should be better Judges when Col. Cook came

* App. No. 61. † App. No. 61.

up. On the 12th, early in the morning, Lieut. Col Cook and Capt. Norbury got into the Camp at Point Quartell, having Left the mortar not far behind. Col. Vanderdussen, taking a party of the Grenadiers,* marched with them to the Point, where they measured the distance to St. Augustine Castle, and found it to be 1 mile and a Quarter. Then they Returned to the Camp. Soon after they observed the Castle and Gallies firing at the Party on the main, who were driving some Horses from under the Castle towards Fort Moosa. The English Flag was Seen also hoisted at the Lookout upon the Island Anastatia. The General Landed there with the forces before mentioned, which he had advised Col. Vanderdussen of. Three of the Gallies went down towards the Bar and fired upon them after they were Landed, but upon the men-of-war Sloops making sail towards the Gallies, they Retired under the Castle The Indians being sent before, the Rest followed with a Six pounder, drawn before them towards the Lookout under the Castle. There was nobody upon the Island, for upon the arrival of the Carolina Regiment at Point Quartell the Spaniards had quitted it, took away the Small Guns which they had at the Lookout, and burnt the Plat-form on which they were placed. In the Evening, Lieut. Col. Cook's party and the Party which had been Sent out to assist, arrived with the Howitzer in the Camp at Point Quartell. Some of the Carolina Vessels got in over the Bar and anchored under the Island. Col. Vanderdussen got ashore 3 of the 6 pounders belonging to the Phœnix, one of which had not the Carriage with it, as also Some Provisions and Stores. On the 13th, at Break of Day, Col. Vanderdussen ordered the Mortar (or Howitzer) and 2 Sixpounders to be carried to the other side of the Point, about a mile off. The General Sent an order over for the only Boat Col. Vanderdussen had to bring Provisions or anything else on shore, by one Mr. Logy, who carried her away without Landing the Bed of the Mortar which was on board her. The Col. therefore and Col. Cook, who took the management of the Artil-

* App. No. 62.

lery, were obliged to place the Mortar in the Sands. The Carriages of the Sixpounders proved so bad that they were obliged to place them in the Sands also. Whilst the Batteries were making, the Gallies were busy firing at the General's Men upon Anastatia. At 8 o'clock, Lieut. Col. Cook threw a Bomb from the Mortar,* which broke just over the Castle. As the Battery was placed opposite to the angle of one of Bastions, it was sometime before they could bring any Guns to bear upon it: at Last they threw a 24 pound shot, a shell was Returned, the Gallies advanced toward the Point. The 6 pounders were fired at them, one of which Shot falling across the House of the Admiral Galley and the other in the midst of them, they Retired under the Castle. A Reciprocal fire was kept up between the Batteries and the Castle the whole forenoon, but with a great deal of Trouble and Difficulty,† the Mortar and Guns burying themselves with the sand every time they were fired. This day‡ Capt. McKay sent a Cannow (which had been found accidentally) with a Letter to Col. Vanderdussen from the Negro Fort, wherein he acquainted him that he had 8 lbs. of Bread which the General had ordered to each of the men there, would hold out no longer than till the next night: when, If they had not some how Supply, they Should be obliged to march to Fort Diego in quest of victuals, which, perhaps, they would not find there. He begged him to spare them a supply of Beef and Rice until the General's arrival, and also to send them a Surgeon, having a great number sick§ with Fluxes, &c. The Col. answered that he had no Provisions since he came to Point Quartell but what he had been obliged to send his people for to the Hut, and that he had at present but 366 lbs. of Rice, of which he had sent him half a Barrel, which was all that he could spare. All night a Reciprocal fire was kept up between the Castle and the Battery at Point Quartell. Lieut. Cadogan was sent up the River in a boat with 10 men to Fort Diego for the two small mortars there.¶ On the 14th,

* App. No. 63. † App. No. 67. ‡ App. No. 64.
§ App. No. 65. ¶ App. No. 66.

in the morning, a shell was thrown from the mortar at Point Quartell right into the Bastion of the Castle next to it. Several Guns were fired from the Castle and Gallies both at the men at Point Quartell and on Anastatia. Col. Vanderdussen wrote the General the following Letter:

CAMP AT POINT QUARTELL, June, 1740.

SIR: I wrote your Excellency word that Some of the 18 pounders and Some of the 9 pounders would be of the most Service to us, and that the Boat which I had here would bring them ashore. I have heard nothing further since, but yesterday morning an order from your Excellency by Logy to bring her away, which was the only Boat I had to bring my Provisions ashore, or anything Else. I accordingly complyed with your Excellency's order, and sent the Boat away with some of my own men in her, and was in hopes that as soon as your Excellency was Landed that the Boat would have been sent Back to me, which I beg your Excellency will order to be done. We carried the Guns which were sent from the men-of-war, and 2 more from on board my schooners, down to the Point, but the Carriages are so very bad that we were obliged to place them in the Sand. However, it had the Effect that yesterday morning, when the Gallies were making towards us, upon firing the shot, the first athwart their House, the second in the middle of them, they got under the Castle, and have not dared to advance towards us since. Mr. Cadogan went Round Last night in a Boat with 8 of my men and 2 of Mr. Cook's, within musket shot of them, but they Kept where they were. He is gone to Fort Diego to bring the 2 small mortars that are there. The mortars we have been obliged to place in the Sand. Mr. Logy having taken away the boat that had the Bed on Board, without Landing of it; So that every time she is fired strikes her into the Sand, which creates a great deal of Trouble and less Certainty, yet, notwithstanding all these Difficulties, all the Shells we have thrown (Excepting three) have Broke in the Castle or Town, so that my first opinion that I gave your Excellency about this place

as being the properest Situation for a Battery, both for a Cannon and Bombs, is confirmed now by experience. In the mean time I Remain

Your Excellency's most humble servant,
ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

The General wrote Col. Vanderdussen the following Letter:

CAMP ANASTATIA, 14th June, 1740.

SIR: *We are Masters of the Harbour, and Can Ride Safe both from the Gallies, and Castle of Augustine. If you have a mind to send in your Craft, pray do. I would fain have a Communication to you directly to the Point. I ordered Everything you desired, and am,

Sr. your most obedient humble servant,
JAMES OGLETHORPE.

Col. Vanderdussen, seeing the Provision Schooner, the Pearl, Commanded by Capt. Tyrrel, and a great many other Vessels come within the Bar, went over in a small Canoe to Anastatia to Confer with the General. He found Some 18 pounders† Landing for a Battery, to beat down the Town and Destroy the Gallies, 2 of which were Carried by Sailors, and one of them Mounted. The Distance from the Castle was such, being above a mile and a half, that it was found by Experience they could not reach it. The General told Col. Vanderdussen that that Battery was only in order to have the Guns Carried further to make a Battery in another place, much nearer, which place he desired him to go and see. Accordingly they went and found it to be upon the side of a marsh, about 2 miles from the Landing, and about a mile from the Castle. This place was approved of. They fired Briskly from the Castle at them, upon which they Returned, and Col. Vanderdussen went over to his Camp at Point Quartell. In the meantime, at Fort Moosa,‡ Capt. Palmer, with his own and the Georgia Rangers (for Capt. McKay himself never went but once), and Jones, with the

*App. No. 68. † App. Nos. 69. ‡ App. Nos. 32, 36, 37.

Indians, made Excursions every day, Sometimes for 15 miles Round, and had Drove up thither about 100 Horses. At night they used to go out and alarm the Spaniards in St. Augustine, and particularly on the 12th. The General's Colours having been seen at Anastatia, Capt. Palmer, that night, pursuant to his Directions, with the Rangers and Indians, and Capt. McKay, with some of the Highlanders, went out and fired upon the Town. Col. Palmer had constantly Remained with the Rangers without the Fort * and from Day to Day perpetually blamed Capt. McIntosh and Capt. McKay, who with the Rest still Remained within. He told them the Spaniards from the Castle could count their number almost to a man, and that they would have their Throats cut. They said there they had escaped,† and would not move, if the Enemy came they must fight. This Daily produced words between them. It did not appear to the men who had Really the chief command. The Colonel, McIntosh and McKay were heard often to dispute about it, the 2 Latter Seemed to carry Equal Command, and to act alike in everything, and observed no Directions that the Colonel gave them. In particular he advised them to Rise at 4 o'clock every morning, and to stand to their Arms. He went himself every morning before Day, sometimes Twice, into the Fort to Rouse them up. But they Little Regarded it. Officers and men would Still lye sleeping: the Colonel often fell into a passion on that account, Telling them that he valued his Life no more than they did, but they Lay like Dogs to have their Throats Cut. This produced a great deal of Difference. He often wished himself away, for that he never saw such men in his Life, that he had no Commission to Show, and that they did not regard his advice in this Situation. No men being sent over by the General after he had Landed upon Anastatia, as he had promised, and not ever hearing from him, Col. Palmer said

---

* Here is evidence of the injustice done Col. Palmer by those who affirm that, contrary to Gen. Oglethorpe's instructions, he kept within the Fort.

† This probably should be "encamped."

he could not conceive what the General meant by it, that he Believed he had sent him there for a sacrifice, and was frequently heard to complain that they were left a sacrifice by Him.* In the Evening S Creek Indians marched from the Nation to Fort Moosa: they Enquired for the General, and upon being told that he was then upon the Island Anastatia, asked what they did there, then whether the General sent these few men against the Strong Castle with those Little Guns of theirs, and said that they were just like Something put into a Large Mouth, Ready to be Devoured as soon as shut. On the 15th,† about one in the morning, Some of the Rangers which had been out to burn a House close by the Town, but it being very Dark, could not find it, Returned to Fort Moosa, and Reported that they had heard the Spanish Indians dancing the war dance. Thereupon Col. Palmer said they must expect a Brush before Day, ordered them to lie down and take a nap, and that he would awake them. At 3 or 4 o'clock accordingly he did, and almost all the Rangers got up Immediately and stood to their arms. Then the Col. went into the Fort and Roused them up, argued the Danger they were in, and advised them to stand to their arms. But as usual, not Regarding him, most of them Lay down again. This put him into a great Passion, and, coming out, he said they did not know what they Trusted to, that the Spaniards would Surely attack them after the Indian manner, and Repeated that the General had sent them there for a Sacrifice. He stood sometime after in the Gateway talking with Jones; on a sudden one of the advanced Sentinels called out that there was a party of men Coming. Col. Palmer Calling out aloud, Stand to your arms, not a man of you fire, but Receive their first fire, then half of you fire and Draw Back, making Room for the Rest to come up, and we will Kill them Like dogs. Some of the Highlanders, then upon Guard in one of the Bastions, fired, notwithstanding. Directly the Enemy poured in a Large Volley, upon which the Colonel said: Are these the men I have to trust to? I thought so before,

* App. No. 37. † App. Nos. 32, 36, 37.

and betook himself to the Ditch. The Rangers, who were about 12 yards without, did the same, for the Colonel had before Directed them in Case of an attack to do so, because they would be in as much Danger from the fire of the Highlanders within the Fort as from the Enemy without. Jones Run into the Fort and got all the Indians together in one Flanker, there being a great Hurry and Confusion amongst the men, some being dressed and some undressed. He went into every Flanker three times, yet could not find Capt. McIntosh, nor see anything of his Soldiers, but found Capt. McKay in one of them, just got up in his shirt, with a small sword and a musket, whom he advised to support the Gate with the Highlanders, but to no purpose. In the meantime the Enemy, attacking in Different parties, Rushed on and particularly Endeavored to force their way into the Fort through the Gate, but it was So well defended during a Constant Smart Fire on all sides for a Quarter of an hour, from the 2 Flankers that commanded that side and by Col. Palmer, who kept firing and Encouraging the men aloud, that they were Repulsed twice. At length they came on again, sword in hand, and entered the Gate, being led on by an officer, whom Jones, at his Entrance, shot; at the same time another party Entered one of the Breaches, so that the Fort was at once full of Spaniards, it being then about half an hour before Day. McKay immediately jumped over into the Ditch with a small sword in his hand, and advised all to shift for themselves. Soon after McIntosh was Carried out Prisoner. They Continued within Sometime at Club work, Cutting and Slashing as fast as they could, till the Spaniards being Evidently Masters, all that were able Jumped over on all sides into the Ditch and made the best of their way off, thro' the Enemy that surrounded the Fort, amongst which Jones, with 6 Indians, Jumping over, was Joyned by Col. Palmer's two sons (the Captain and his Brother), and another of the Rangers, who all together firing as they marched, and opening a Passage to themselves, made their escape, Capt. Palmer, in particular, Killing a Spanish Indian, by the way, who

was Just Ready to Knock Down Jones. All this time Col. Palmer maintained the Ditch where he was, tho' but with two of the Carolina Rangers by his side. At length he was Shot by one within the Fort. Bleeding inwardly very much at the mouth. He yet Loaded his Gun, and when almost gone, reeling and panting, He still cried out as he fell: "Hurra! my Lads, the Day's our own. I have been in many Battles and never lost one yet." Thereupon those 2 men, being the Last, quitted the Trench and Escaped through the Enemy, with many wounds, to the River side, opposite to Point Quartell, being about a mile and a half from the Fort. There almost all that had Escaped except a few that could swim over, Remained at a stand. The Spaniards, as it pleased God, did not pursue their Victory, but marched Back to the Castle in Great Triumph, with the Prisoners and Colours that they had taken in the Fort, wearing in their hats the ears and private parts of the slain.* In this action about 50 whites and Indians of the General's party were Killed, and upwards of 20 taken, amongst which not one Carolinian besides Col. Palmer himself. The party which attacked them consisted, according to the Least account given by Deserters afterwards, of 300 men, chiefly Forsadoes, Convict Negroes, and Indians, But by the account which seems to be the best, of 450 men, of which at Least as many were Killed as of ours, with the 2 Principal officers, one of which was Commodore of the Gallies, and about as many wounded. About an hour after day Break Lieut. Cadogan, who had been to Fort Diego for two mortars there, coming down the River, and seeing those who had escaped by the water side waving to him, went and took into his Boat as many of them as he could, and a Boat which Col. Vanderdussen sent over as soon as the first that had escaped had swam over to him, took in the Rest. The Gallies perceiving these Boats bringing over the People moved up the River to intercept their Landing. But some shot being fired at them, both from Point Quartell and Anastasia, they Retired under the Castle, and the People

* App. Nos. 32 and 37.

Landed at Point Quartell. Col. Vanderdussen sent an Express Immediately to Fort Diego to acquaint them with what had happened that they might be upon their guard, lest the Spaniards should surprise them. He sent also an account of the affair over to the General upon Anastatia, Soon after which Lieut. Col. Cook himself went over to Talk with the General. The Remaining part of that Day everything Rested Quiet on all sides, and in the afternoon Col. Vanderdussen moved his Camp up to the utmost Point, close by a Battery, Judging it more Proper in Case the Spaniards should think fit to make him a visit. In the night the Regiment was got under arms upon hearing an alarm in the General's Camp at Anastatia. On 16th the General wrote the following Letter to Lieut.-Governour Bull:

CAMP BESIEGING ST. AUGUSTINE, 16th June, 1740.

*SIR: God has been pleased to Bless us with great success, Excepting one unfortunate action. Besides taking Fort Diego we have took the Island St. Anastatia and the Harbour of St. Augustine, but Col. Palmer and his Volunteers, and the Georgia Rangers, with a party of the Highlanders and Indians, being Left to alarm the Spaniards on the Land side, were surprised by them. We hear that Col. Palmer and Capt. McIntosh are either Killed or Prisoners. All the Regiment was with me and is safe, so is Col. Vanderdussen and all the Carolina Regiment. In all other things we have been successful. The Spaniards having fired a great number of Cannon and not so much as hit a man. We hope soon to make them pay Dear for the Last action, But wish for more men, the men-of-war being soon obliged to Leave us, and we cannot Besiege the Town by Land and water with so small a force. Capt. Bull is well.

I am Sr., your most obedient Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

In the Morning the mortar being fixed upon the Bed at Point Quartell, Col. Vanderdussen having Brought it over

* App. No. 70.

from Anastatia, was played again, and Several Shells thrown into the Town, and one into the Castle. The Spaniards fired but 3 or 4 Guns. Soon after Col. Vanderdussen went over with Lieut. Col. Cook to the Island: he found things in a good Deal of Distraction. Resolutions taken and not put in Execution, and the Battery in no sort of forwardness, one Gun was carried down and the other Left in the Mud, the Sea men were complaining and saying they would do no more. Capt. Warren was very uneasy, and complaining that the General was come there without Provisions, ammunition or anything else but what he had from them, and threatened to go on board with all his men if things were not altered. Col. Vanderdussen made things as Easy betwixt the General and Capt. Warren as he could, and begged Capt. Warren to make all the Haste he could to Finish the Battery, that being the only thing to keep the Gallies in awe, and if they were not Destroyed by the Battery, he offered, if the men-of-war would lend him their Boats, to go himself in the Night time and Destroy them: this was agreed to,* and Capt. Warren offered to join him. Col. Vanderdussen Received from the General the following orders:

†SIR: You are with the Carolina Regiment to come over to this Island, leaving such a Guard out of them as you shall think Sufficient for the Defence of the Battery, Cannons and Mortars; also send all your craft into this River, with Necessary Provisions for the Men, and all other things for the Service, which you can Speedily get on Board. Make the utmost Expedition, for these orders are the Result of a Conference held with the Commodore and officers of the men-of-war.

I am Sr., your very Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

---

* So far from Col. Vanderdussen and his men being "turbulent and disobedient," above is one of several instances when Col. V. promoted harmony; and when his plans for action were thwarted by some order from Gen. O.

† App. No. 72.

Col. Vanderdussen and Lieut. Col. Cook Returned to the Camp at Point Quartell, and at night threw Several Shells. Some Shot were also Exchanged this Day between the Battery and Anastatia and the Castle and Gallies. On the 17th, in the morning, Col. Vanderdussen himself fearing if the orders which he had Received from the General were put in Execution, that the Party which he was to Leave behind him at the Point might be Served as that Party at Moosa had been, Summoned all his officers together, and Laying before them the General's orders, desired their opinions: thereupon, accordingly, they Delivered the same to him in Writing, as follows:

Sir: We having perused the orders of his Excellency General Oglethorpe, which you were pleased to Communicate to us, are unanimously of opinion (for the following reasons) that the result of them may be of very Dangerous Consequence to the welfare of your Honour's Regiment, and the success of the Expedition, and that the whole ought to go over or Stay together: 1st. For that the Dividing the Regiment into Small parties and Leaving Such Parties in Posts where they were every Hour in Danger of being cut off by the Enemy, obliges the whole of them to be Continually upon Guard, which will so weaken the men that in Case of an attack they will hardly be able to stand Even an Equal Number of Fresh men, and we have already experienced too fatally the Ill consequence of it. 2dly. For that in Case an attack should be made on the Party proposed to be Left here by the Gallies Landing a Number of Men, our Battery (as it is called) can be of no use to prevent such Landing, for as we have but one Gun Mounted, and even that one after every Shot will take near a Quarter of an Hour to be replaced for want of a Platform, the Gallies may with ease pass it, Especially as we have not one that knows how to level a Gun. 3dly. For that there are here now a great Number of Sick and wounded who will Require a Guard to defend them, which will still weaken a Small party, and to leave them without it would be too cruel and quite in-

human. 4thly. For that in Case of a Defeat every man must Expect to be murdered, having no place to Retreat to, which the Enemy will always have in the Gallies, and in Such Case the Mortar and Guns infallibly fall to the Spaniards, who afterwards will Certainly use them against the party on the Island of Anastatia, a Consequence that Requires the utmost Care to avoid. 5thly. For that if the General withdraw his own Soldiers from us, we think it as Reasonable to have this Regiment together. 6thly. For that if Augustine is to be attacked on the Matansas side, we cannot Conceive of what Loss the defending this Point can possibly be, especially when we consider that it may require the whole Force to attempt them on the other side.

Signed by the Lieut. Colonel, Major and
all the Captains and Lieutenants of the Regiment.

Col. Vanderdussen went over to Anastatia and communicated the same* to the General, who thereupon said: "Then they Refused to obey orders."† "No, Sir," said the Colonel, "this is only their opinion. But if your Excellency still orders me to do it, I will bring them over,"‡ upon which it was Dropped. The Colonel found everything at a stand as before, without anything being forwarded. Capt. Warren told the General that he would not Step further without an order from the Commodore, or having him upon the Spot. Upon this Col. Vanderdussen taking the Commodore's Barge went off to him, and persuaded him to come ashore with him to Settle Matters. At their Landing they went to Capt. Warren's Tent, where the General Joined them; orders were given for every one to withdraw except the General, the Commodore, Col. Vanderdussen, Capt. Warren and Capt. Laws. Then the General asked the Commodore what was to be done in the Present Situation of affairs, as they had

---

* App. No. 25.

† This was but a respectful expression of opinion invited by Col. Vanderdussen. The affair at Moosa was fresh in their recollection. But against their opinion, they were ready to obey orders.

‡ App. No. 74.

declared that they would stay no Longer than the 5th of next month, nor so Long in Case Easterly winds Set in Sooner. The Commodore made answer that that was not in his Sphere, being the Peculiar Business of the General to Direct. But that During his Stay he would give all the assistance he could Spare out of his Majesty's Ships. Then the General asked Col. Vanderdussen the same Question, who answered* that he would give his opinion, and that afterwards he might do as he thought proper. That it was his opinion, first—That the Battery designed upon that Island nearest to the Town Should be Raised with all Possible Expedition, in order to Destroy the Gallies, or at least to drive them under the Castle—That if any of the Gallies should Escape they should be attacked by the Men-of-War's Boats in the manner he had before proposed—That Lieut. Col. Cook should come over to the Island in order to place the Mortars in a proper Situation where they should do the greatest Damage—That one-half of the forces and all the Indians should be sent over to Fort Moosa, in order to keep the Enemy in on that Side where they could have a Communication with the Rest, and be Supplied with Provisions and other necessaries—That it was of the Utmost Consequence to carry the Indians there, because they were threatening to Leave the General, having had the Insolence to tell him to his face that he was afraid of the Spaniards, and therefore kept upon an Island, and also the Party of the Creek Indians that were coming down would Certainly Return if they did not find some of our people upon the Main; as a Small party of them would Certainly have done already if they had not accidentally met with some of our people at Fort Diego, who persuaded them to come forward. That after all this was put in Execution, a Day should be agreed upon by a Signal for the Forces upon the Island to be carried down to the South end of the Town, and those upon the Main at the North end to attack the Town at the

---

* Here the General and the Commodore are at variance, and again Col. Vanderdussen makes propositions to which they both agree.

same time, sword in hand.* This was agreed to, and that the General should go over to the Main with his troops, and the Indians, and that Colonel Vanderdussen should come over to the Island and take the Command there, in Consequence of which the General ordered him to Bring his whole Regiment over from Point Quartell to Anastatia. The Colonel returned to his Camp. Very few Guns were fired this Day on either Side. In the Night the Camp at Point Quartell was alarmed by the Sound of Boats Rowing on the Water, and all were got under arms, but nothing further ensued. On the 18th one of the Companies of the Carolina Regiment Embarked at Point Quartell and went over to Anastatia. Few Guns were fired this day on either Side. Col. Vanderdussen† went over with Lieut. Col. Cook to the Island, and found everything as before, without the Battery being in any forwardness: the Reason they gave for that was a great Rain that had fallen the Night before. He went to the General and asked him whether he had altered his mind, seeing nothing was forwarded according to agreement; that the time was So Short that if they attempted anything it must be Done in a few Days, for the Men-of-War would Stay no Longer than the 5th of the Next Month. The General told him he was making all the Haste he could to get over, but could not till he had first Sent Provisions before him. The Colonel told him that he might that very night send over Provisions, they being on board the Sloop (on which he had Brought them) Ready to Deliver, and the next day go over himself with the Men. The General Replied that he had no Boats; the Colonel said that he would carry them over for him, and accordingly Sent two Boats for the Provisions, which Carried them up to the Point. In the Evening he Returned to his Camp at Point Quartell, Leaving Lieut. Col. Cook with the General, who ordered him to stay there that he might that night Settle Matters with him. On the 19th the Colonel went over to the Island with his own Company, and Returned again; the Volunteers went over also. In the Evening the

* App. No. 75. † App. No. 75.

great Carolina Mortar, at the Lower Battery upon Anastatia, was fired, and also the mortar at Point Quartell, and at night a great number of Cohorns were fired, at the advanced Battery; some of the Shells broke over the Gallies, and some fell Short. On the 20th, in the morning, two Deserters from the Gallies, an Englishman and a Dutchman, came to the camp upon Anastatia, who gave Information that the Spaniards, Imagining there were but 200 men upon that Island, and 200 men upon Point Quartell, intended, the Night before, to have Landed 500 men on Anastatia. But that upon the Cohorns being fired the Gallies Retired under the Castle.* That it was 300 Forsadoes and Negroes that Surprised the Party at Fort Moosa—that they Lost the officer that Commanded them, and as many of their men were killed as of ours—that they took about 20 Prisoners, but that the Spaniards themselves would not Venture out, only upon that piece of Success had plucked up some Heart;† and that a Great many would Desert if they could find an opportunity. That Capt. McIntosh was not so much as wounded, and that one of the Indians taken with him was to be Burnt. In the afternoon‡ the General wrote a Letter to the Governour of St. Augustine, demanding the Castle, and at same time Let him know that if he used any of the Prisoners ill he would take Satisfaction of the Spanish Prisoners he had. An Officer with a Flag of Truce and a Drum having gone down to the River side, opposite to the Castle, and beat a Parley, a Boat came across with the Like flag, and Receiving the Letter went Back, and in a Short time Returned with a message that an answer should be given the next morning at 8 o'clock. No Guns were fired this Day on either side.

‖A Schooner from Frederica arrived in St. Augustine harbour (under Convoy of Capt. Logie in a small Sloop of the General's), with the Plank intended for the Platforms, 250 Shells and 116 Barrels of Gunpowder; Viz: 100 Barrels out of the Store Ships from England (which the General had

* App. No. 76.
† App. No. 77.
‡ App. No. 78.
‖ App. No. 79.

Left at Frederica when he set out from thence), and 16 barrels more taken in by the way at St. Andrew's. This was the first Powder that the General had out of that Ship. He had sent Back the above Schooner about a Month ago from St. John's to Frederica, with an order to Capt. Colebatch, the master of the Store Ship, for Several Stores, amongst which there was to be 50 barrels of Powder, but when she Returned to St. John's, the 27th May, without the article, the General being then at Fort Diego, his Secretary, who was then on the Spot, said that the General had mentioned 50 barrels of Powder, but that by some mistake or other it was not in the order. Lieut. Col. Cook being present Dispatched back the Schooner again the same Day with orders for the Powder, &c., now Brought. Another Company of the Carolina Regiment was carried over from Point Quartell to Anastatia, and in the Evening a few of the General's Men were sent over from the Island to the Point Hitherto there was mounted* at the two Batteries (as they were called) on Anastatia only 2 Eighteen pounders, and 1 Large Mortar at the Lower Battery where the Seamen were, and 1 Eighteen pounder with some Cohorns at the advanced or upper Battery place. Half way between the two Batteries Lay another 18 pounder buried in the Mud. This Evening† Capt. Wright, with the Volunteers and their negroes, went to work upon the advanced Battery, who did more this one Night than had been done ever since the force had been upon the Island. In the Night, upon an alarm that some Spaniards were Landing at the Point of Marsh opposite the Castle, Col. Vanderdussen got his Regiment under arms, without Beat of Drum, and Marched down thither,‡ but found it to be a false alarm. On the 21st, in the morning, Col. Vanderdussen Relieved all the General's Guards that they might Embark for the Main. The Boat Expected with the Governour of Augustine's answer to the General came over with a message that his answer Should be sent in the afternoon.‖ In the afternoon the Governour's Answer came.

* App. No. 80.
† App. Nos. 81, 42, 28.
‡ App. No. 81.
‖ App. No. 81.

He Swore by the Holy Cross that he would Defend the Castle to the Last drop of his Blood,* and hoped soon to kiss his Excellency's hands there: with Respect to the Prisoners that he treated all with Humanity, as he Desired that his People might be treated. It seems above two-thirds of the people were for Surrendering* on Condition that they should be permitted to go to the Havanna. But the Governour and the Bishop, who had come at the Knowledge of the Time that our men-of-war Designed to stay, would not come into it. The firing was Renewed on Both sides, and several Shells thrown as well as Cannon fired from the Battery.

The Commodore came ashore,‡ who, with the Captains on shore, Warren, Laws, and Townshend, went to Col. Vanderdussen's Tent and sent for Col. Cook: they conferred together about what was to be done, all of them agreed that the General's stay there Retarded instead of forwarding the affair, and wished him gone to the other side, when they would carry it on with vigour, and for that purpose the rest of the Artillery should be landed and mounted with all expedition. In the night the men were got under arms on Anastatia, upon a false alarm. On the 22nd the advanced Battery‖ being raised with a Breastwork of Sand Bags by the Volunteers and their Negroes, and having now 4 Eighteen pounders Mounted and 2 mortars on a platform, began to play early upon the Castle and Gallies Lying before the Town, which Returned the fire Briskly. However, the Gallies were soon obliged to move further down, by that means Raking the Trench which lay open to them at one end, § who Died soon after. At Noon the fire ceased, and another Breastwork was thrown up to cover that end, and a 9 pounder mounted to annoy the Gallies. At 3 o'clock the fire was Renewed Briskly on both sides and Lasted till Evening. Another Company of the Carolina Regiment was ordered over by Col. Vanderdussen from Point Quartell to Anastatia, and some of the General's men passed over to that Point. In the night there was another false alarm at Anastatia. On the 23rd the General sent

* App. No. 25. † App. No. 25. ‡ App. No. 81.
‖ App. Nos. 28 and 42. § Something omitted here.

more of his men over to Point Quartell, and Col. Vanderdussen ordered Lieut. Col. Lejeau to come over from thence to Anastatia with the Remainder of his Regiment. Accordingly in the evening he did, Leaving only a few, which the Boats could not Receive, to come over the next morning. On the 24th,* before Day, some of the Chickasaw Indians who had swam across the River and Killed a Spanish Indian near the Town, came dancing and Singing the Death Hop, according to their custom, to the General's Tent to present him with the head. The General Refused to accept it, called them Barbarous Dogs, and with much anger bid them begone, thereupon they went away very much Disgusted, Saying that if they had Carried the Head of an Englishman to the French they Should not have been treated in that manner, and Squirrel King said that if he had carried one of our heads to the Governour of St. Augustine he should have been used by him Like a man, as he had been now used by the General like a Dog. Those Indians, it seems,† as well as some of the others that were upon Anastatia, had before offered the General, if he would permit them, to Cross the River and burn the Town, But he refused Leave, saying the Houses would be useful to us. Many Shells were thrown and Guns fired this Day on Both Sides.‡ The General appeared not inclineable to attack the Enemy upon the Land side without more Troops. He wrote the following Letter to our Lieut. Governour:‖

FROM THE CAMP BEFORE AUGUSTINE,
24th June, 1740.

SIR: §We have had a Small Loss at Moosa, as I men-

* App. Nos 28, 37, 42.

† App. Nos. 28 and 36.

‡ App. No. 82.

‖ App. No. 83.

§ This letter furnishes ample refutation of the accusation, which must be described as slanderous, against Capt. Bull, viz: that he "deserted his post when on duty and made his flight privately, carrying off four men with him and escaped to Charlestown." Certainly a deserter could not have been assigned the honorable post of bearer of despatches, and referee for further information. One misrepresentation so serious as this should bring into question the whole of any history which adopts it.

tioned in my last. We summoned the Town, to which the Governour, Bishop and Council of War gave a modest answer, that they were Resolved to make a Defense. The Gallies are the most troublesome things we meet with, who if Walker's Schooner were here may easily be Restrained. I have Desired Capt. Bull to carry you these advices, and to solicit for more Men and Walker's Schooner. If there are more to be Raised at the Northward, Mr. Holzendorf, of Purysburgh, has a very good interest, and is very Proper to be Employed.

I am Sr., your most obedient humble Servant.

JAMES OGLETHORPE

Refer you to Capt. Bull for a full account.

In the Evening* the General having sent over all his Regiment to Point Quartell before him, went over himself, also Leaving Lieut. Col. Cook with 3 or 4 of his servants only in Charge of the Artillery† with the Carolina Regiment, upon Anastatia. The Chickasaw Indians Refused to go over with the General, and said they would go home if they did go over, and it was 2 or 3 Days before they could be persuaded to go over to him. On the 25th, in the morning, the Battery on Anastatia began to play upon the Castle again. A Reciprocal fire was Kept up till Noon, and in the Evening began again. This Day‡ Col. Vanderdussen again proposed to the Gentlemen of the Sea Service on Shore, an attack upon the Gallies. But many Difficulties were started. The Colonel offered to undertake it if they would send him their Boats and some of their Men. This they would not come into. Then he proposed to Capt. Tyrrel (who had offered his service), they should Command the attack themselves. Agreed to. Capt. Warren going on board the Commodore Disapproved of it, and said he was Surprised that a thing of such consequence should be agreed upon without

* App. No. 25. † App. No. 42. ‡ App. No. 84.

‖ Notice is again directed to a proposition from Col. Vanderdussen as to which, as usual, "difficulties were started," and when *they* were answered, yet again "new difficulties were started," and finally the Commodore pronounces it "too hazardous," and declines further assistance.

his Knowledge. Upon this Capt. Warren Returning ashore, Col. Vanderdussen went with him on board the Commodore, and having argued the necessity of attacking the Gallies, and that the Difficulty was not so great as they Imagined, it was again agreed that it should be put in Execution, and that the Commodore's Lieutenant (Mr. Swanton) should go ashore and take upon him the Command of the attack, but when the Gentlemen came on shore new Difficulties were again started. Capt. Warren desired Col. Vanderdussen to acquaint the Commodore what assistance he could give, which he did by him in a Letter, as follows:

CAMP UPON ANASTATIA, 25th June, 1740.

SIR: Captain Warren told me it would be proper to acquaint you what Imbarkation and forces I proposed to assist you with for Destroying these Gallies, therefore have sent you an account of the same, which is 2 Boats of 10 oars, 1 of 14, 2 of 8, and 3 of 6 oars, in all, eight, besides several Cannons of a smaller size, on Board of which I shall put 100 men that are fit for that purpose, with proper officers to command them. I shall line all the sides of the River by the Rest of my Regiment, and as the Channel Runs close under this shore, they will be covered by us. I went along the River side Last night and saw the Situation of the Gallies, and therefore am very certain it must be attended with success, and with as Little danger as anything of that nature Possibly can be.

I am Sr., your Honor's most Humble Servant,
ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

The Commodore answered the Colonel as follows:

FLAMBOROUGH, OFF THE BAR OF AUGUSTINE,
25th June, 1740.

SIR: *I have the favour of yours by Capt. Warren, and shall be glad to do anything in my power to Effect what you propose, But as the Case is, I am afraid the affair is too

* App. No. 86.

Hazardous for us to Undertake, as you will perceive by the Resolutions of the Council of War yesterday, which I have Desired Capt. Warren to Communicate to you. I have sent by him a List of the Boats belonging to us, and the number of men they ought to carry to be fit for action, and by that I Believe you will think the Strength we can muster between us will not be able to carry the Project proposed into Execution with any hopes of Success. However, to shew my Inclination for his Majesty's Service on this occasion, I am ready to Leave it to the Mature Deliberation of the Gentlemen of our Own Service and Yours on shore. But as a Failure of such an attempt must be of the worst consequences, both to the Ships and your Troops, and the Colony of Carolina, who is chiefly Interested in this undertaking, I hope your and their prudence will Lead you to Undertake Nothing but where there is a possibility of Success. This, under the Circumstances we are in in Regard to the Difference of our Force and theirs, and passing so near, as I am informed by the Pilots, to the fire of their Cannon and Musketry from the Castle and Town before they can come at the Gallies, makes the success so Doubtful as requires Mature Consideration before it is put in Execution. Our Ships, from the assistance given, are so Reduced as to Men that they are Incapable of the service Ships of War are intended for.

I am Sr., your most Humble Servant,

VINCENT PEARSE.

In the night the Camp upon Anastatia was alarmed again. On the 26th the Batteries, both on Anastatia and Point Quartell, Kept up a fire upon the Town and Castle.* A conference was held at Col. Vanderdussen's Tent upon the Commodore's Letter of the Day before, where was Present besides himself, Lieut. Col. Cook, Capt. Warren, Capt. Laws, and Capt. Townshend, wherein it was agreed that the Gallies should be attacked with the Boats, provided there was water Enough in the Swash opposite the Castle for the Boats

* App. No. 87.

to pass. In the afternoon Capt. Warren went on board the Commodore with the said Resolution, where a Council of War having been held, the Commodore Communicated the Result thereof to Col. Vanderdussen by the following Letter:

FLAMBOROUGH, OFF THE BAR OF AUGUSTINE.
26th June, 1740.

*SIR: Under the present Difficulties it is thought impracticable to attack the Gallies as proposed, with which I have acquainted the General by Letters of this Date.†

I am Sr., your most Humble Servant,
VINCENT PEARSE.

The same day the Commodore made a signal for Captain Fanshaw to Leave the Matansas Inlet and to Join him. The General having passed over in the Boat from Point Quartell to the main, in the Evening made a signal for the forces upon Anastatia to Know it. ‡On the 27th, between one and two in the morning, Capt. Tyrrel (having a small party sent down by Col. Vanderdussen to the water side to prevent its being Surprised by an Enemy that might be Lurking on the shore), went in a Boat and Sounded between the Point and the Keys opposite to the Castle. He found 4 feet water upon the North and 6 feet water upon the South end at half flood.‖ In the morning the Cannon and Bombs played as usual. Col. Vanderdussen having Received this morning the Commodore's Letter of the Day before, went on board to him with Capt. Warren, who brought it. Then all the Seven Captains of his Majesty's Ships were present together, amongst whom was Capt. Fanshaw, Just come up from the Matansas, who said that he had seen lying at the Musquitoes a Large Sloop, 2 Schooners and some Launches. These were the same vessels that the two Deserters from St. Augustine had before given Information were coming there from Havanna with Provisions. The wind setting in Easterly, they told Col. Vanderdussen that they should be obliged to slip their Cables, and could give him no further

* App. No. 88. † App. No. 89. ‡ App. No. 90. ‖ App. No. 91.

assistance. Upon this the Colonel went Down and wrote the following Letter, which he sent to the Commodore:

27TH JUNE, 1740.

SIR: I received the Honour of yours of the 25th instant, wherein you recommended the Consideration of an attack upon the Gallies to the Gentlemen of your service and ours ashore, upon which we had a conference in my Tent, where were present Capt. Warren, Capt. Laws and Capt. Townshend, Col. Cook and myself, and it was agreed that we should attack the Gallies with our Boats, provided there was water enough in the Swash for our Boats to pass, which said Resolution was sent on board to you. I have since been Informed by Capt. Tyrrel, who since went to Sound at half tide last night, that there was 4 foot water upon the North side and 6 upon the South of said Swash, which is Enough for any of the Boats that are to be Employed in the said service to pass. I have this morning Received the Honour of yours, Dated the 26th, wherein you tell me that the Resolution of a Council of War on board of you was, That under the present Circumstances it was thought Impracticable to attack the Gallies, as was proposed, but the Reasons of those New Difficulties have not been Communicated to me. I must, therefore, take the Liberty to acquaint you that I would never have proposed an attack upon the Gallies by Boats, and to round under the Castle, if the thing had not appeared to me and all other persons that had an opportunity to see the place and Situation of the Gallies, to be Practicable and attended with all Probability of Success, and with as Little Danger as things of that nature are Liable to. However, I must Leave this to your consideration; you are now to Consider the Situation we shall be left in when the time comes that you are to go. I shall be Left upon a Large Island where the Enemy can Land upon us from all parts, if those Gallies are Left in their possession, and they may cut off all Communication betwixt me and the General. If a North East wind blows, all our Craft must go ashore, and is Liable to be attacked by them, my Force not being sufficient to defend both ends of the Island. If I

send my Craft Round to the Matansas, which is the only and best place, I must follow with all my forces, in order to Defend myself and them, and so Leave this side open to the Enemy, and the Bar to any Imbarkations either to go in or out, and it is Impossible to me to Transport the Artillery, which must fall a prey to the Enemy. But must Leave this also to your Consideration. You are too well acquainted with the fatal consequences that must follow from our being Defeated, upon the Province of South Carolina, and therefore needless for me to Repeat. I shall only give my opinion in Duty to my country and those under my command who must be left behind, if the Gallies are not to be attacked, as Supposed Impracticable, according to your Last Resolution. I should think that the only way Left at Present (and you will be a Judge whether it may be put in Execution) is that one or both of his Majesty's sloops might be Lightened and go in over the Bar of Matansas, which will secure that side, and I think myself Strong Enough to Defend this. The General with his Forces upon their Back will Keep them in a Close Blockade, and must soon Reduce them to Surrender. But suppose they should hold out Longer than might be Reasonably Expected, yet we shall hinder all Communications, and may send to Carolina for a greater Supply of men and other necessaries, or from any of the neigbouring Colonies.

I am Sr., your most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

This having been considered by them in Council, the Commodore Communicated to Col. Vanderdussen the following Resolutions:* It is Resolved by the Council that the Men-of-War Scoops shall, if Possible, be got into the Matansas, well manned and Armed, for the Protection of the Forces Left on the Island of St. Anastatia, and this is all the assistance Can be given from his Majesty's Ship.

Dated on board his Majesty's ship Flamborough, off the Bar of Augustine, this 27th June, 1740.

VINCENT PEARSE.

* App. No. 93.

The wind increasing, Col. Vanderdussen got into a Small Boat and went on Shore, and the Men-of-War Slipt their Cables and Stood out to Sea. Several of the Volunteers* embarked in order to Return home. This Day† the General marched to Fort Moosa, where he found Several Graves and 30 Dead Bodies of his people, which he Buried all night. The wind Blew very hard at North East, which brought into the Harbour a great Sea and drove up Several Boats ashore upon the Island a good way above high water mark.‡ But the Vessels all rid it out. ‖ I acquainted you with the taking the Island Anastatia; the Seamen Blocked the Town on that side; Col. Vanderdussen on Point Quartell; and Col. Palmer, with the Highlanders, Indians and Georgia Rangers, on the main Land, who disobeyed my orders, locked themselves up in the Fort at Moosa: they were Surrounded and cut off, but the Defeat was not so great as at first Reported. Col. Palmer is Killed and 20 Highlanders, fighting bravely for their Country, and Several Indians and some others; and 27 were taken Prisoners, and all the Rest are Safe in the Camp. This giving the Spaniards the Command of the Country, and Rendering the Bombarding of the Town of Little Service, the Inhabitants Saving themselves in the Country, and fetched in Cattle, &c. I with great difficulty landed on the main, buried the Dead with Soldierly Honours, and Marched to St. Augustine, and all the Spaniards have again forsaken the Country and retired into the Fort and place which has been, and will be, Severely Battered by our Bombs and cannon. I give this account at Large that you may not be moved with false Stories set about by Cowards who run away.

I am your affectionate Friend, &c.,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

---

* Thus it appears that another party of Volunteers embarked for home, because the departure of the men-of-war was conclusive that the object for which they came, viz: a sudden and vigorous attempt by sea and land, had failed.

† App. No. 55. ‡ App. No. 95.

‖ "I acquainted" seems to be the beginning of a letter—but to whom does not appear.

He wrote also to the Magistrates and Bailiffs of Frederica thus: *On the 25th the General having advanced some distance towards St. Augustine, where he Pitched his Camp in the middle of a marsh on the side of St. James River, Sent his aid de camp over to Anastatia to Col. Vanderdussen to know the Reason why the Gallies had not been attacked, as agreed on. The Colonel, by Letter, acquainted the General with everything that had passed Relating thereto, and added, They (the men-of-war) are now out at Sea. I am in great Hopes if they should stay out a few Days to make an attempt upon the Gallies with the assistance of their men which they had Left ashore. Mr. Swanton, who was Left the command of them, seems not to want fire, and I hope therefore, to make the thing do with him before the Return of the Ships, and for that purpose desire you will send my Boat as soon as Possible that being the principal Boat for that affair, theirs being all gone. If I succeed in bringing them into it I shall acquaint your Excellency what time it is to be put in Execution; and in the meantime am ready to obey any Commands from your Excellency, and am your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

But when the Colonel †proposed the same to Lieutenant Swanton he was told by him that he had orders not to Venture any of the Seamen till the Return of the Ships.‡ On the 29th there was a Reciprocal Fire between the Batteries and Castle. The Boats which had been drove ashore and damaged, were got off again. ‖Col. Vanderdussen having been to the South side of the Island and found a fine Bluff, opposite to the Mouth of the River St. Sebastian (which Runs up to the back of St. Augustine), with a House and Plantation thereon, where, it Seems, the Spaniards from the Gallies kept watch at night, went again there in the afternoon with Lieut. Col. Cook, both agreeing that this was a

---

* App. No. 55. † App. No. 95.

‡ Col. Vanderdussen's plan again too venturesome.

‖ App. No. 96.

proper place for a Battery, to keep the Gallies or any other vessel from going in or out, and also to hinder the Gallies from going up the River St. Sebastian, by which means they would not be able to get away from our Cannon. They Resolved, if the Men-of-War should not Return, to Make a Battery there as Soon as Possible, which would answer the end proposed, by having the two Men-of-War Sloops Sent in within the Matansas. On the 30th there was a Reciprocal fire again between the Batteries and the Castle. The Boats were Repaired. A New England man belonging to Col. Vanderdussen's own Company Deserted and went over to the Spaniards. The General wrote the following Letter to our Lieut. Governour:

CAMP BEFORE ST. AUGUSTINE, 30th June, 1740.

SIR: I have Recovered Moosa,* buried the dead and drove the Spaniards into St. Angustine. I wrote you by Capt. Buil, who is well, and goes by Sea. We greatly want an assistance of men. Mallachi and Chigilli, with all the lower Creeks, have declared for us, and some of them have been down. More are Expected every Day at Pupa.

I am Sr., your most obedient Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

The General wrote also to Col. Vanderdussen the following Letter:

CAMP BEFORE ST. AUGUSTINE, 30th June, 1740.

†SIR: I wish you Success in your attempt, therefore send you Belsey's Boat, though it puts me under the greatest Difficulties, being the only one I have to provide myself and Diego in Provisions. For my Amelia Boat was wrecked before you came away. If you attempt nothing by Water, pray Send me Back that Boat. I desire also that you will send me the Indian presents, with power to distribute them, for much Depends upon the Nations. I wrote to Col. Cook to give you all the Assistance that can be in the present

* This seems an empty boast, the General having found only graves and dead bodies at Moosa. See p. 81.

† App. No. 99.

juncture. Pray, give me your advice what you think are the best measures if you attack the Gallies at all, or if you do not Succeed.

I am Sr., your Most Humble Servant,
JAMES OGLETHORPE.

On the 1st July, in this Situation of affairs, *Capt. Wright, of the Volunteers, Seeing no prospect of anything being attempted, having Received advice also from Home that the negroes were Like to make another Insurrection, and finding himself, as well as many of his Company, Reduced to a bad State of Health by the badness of the water on the Island (which had Introduced Fluxes and disorders into the Camp,) first waited on Col. Vanderdussen and acquainted him with his Intentions, and then Embarked for Carolina with the rest of the Gentlemen, except 5 or 6 that Still Chose to Stay with the Regiment. This, from its very appearance, produced a great uneasiness in the minds of those that were Left upon the Island. The Batteries and Castle kept firing this day as usual. Three of the Men-of-War came off the Bar again, and Capt. Warren went ashore upon the Island.† In the Evening Col. Vanderdussen Received Advice from the General that an Island Chief, Called the Cowkeeper, was arrived with 45 Creek Indians, and informed him that 800 more were upon their way in Several parties. On the 2nd all the Men-of-War being Returned off the Bar‡ (except Sr. Yelverton Peyton, in the Hector, who made the Best of his way for Virginia, though he had Left a Boat and Crew of hands ashore, and a Cable and anchor at Sea) The Commodore sent the Phœnix and Wolf Sloop with the Pilots to sound the Bar of the Matansas. At their return a Council of War was held, wherein those Pilots being Examined upon oath, declared‖ that there was not Water Enough upon the Bar for the Sloops to go in, and if they could go in they could not Lie safe from a Hurricane when in, nor could they fight more than one abreast in case they were

* App. Nos. 42 and 28.
† App. No. 100.
‡ App. No. 25.
‖ App. No. 101.

attacked by the Gallies. Then the Commodore asked Mr. Blompfield Barradal, Lieut. of the Wolf Sloop (who had been along with the Pilots), what he had to say in that affair. He replied that the Pilots had given their opinion, and that he was not there to be Examined, but that if the Court asked his opinion he would give it. The Court desired he would give his opinion. Then he Declared that there was not only Water enough upon the Bar for those Sloops to go in, But that they could be quite Safe when they were in, and that there was Room Enough for 3 of them to fight Abreast in Case they should be attacked. The Pilot objecting to their Lying, he asked them whether they remember to have Seen such an Island when they were there? They said they did. Then said he you ought to know that they could lie safe from a Hurricane under that Island. However, the Commodore sent the following Letter ashore to the General, and a copy thereof also to Colonel Vanderdussen:

FLAMBOROUGH, OFF THE BAR OF AUGUSTINE,
2nd July, 1740.

SIR: According to the Resolutions of the Council of War which I gave Col. Vanderdussen under my hand of ye 27th June Last, to get the two Men-of-War Sloops over the Bar of Matansas, I sent the Phœnix and Wolf Sloop to sound the same, and Enclosed is a Copy of the Examination of the Pilots who sounded that Bar wherein you will see 'tis Impracticable to put in Execution. The 5th of July is near at hand. I shall, therefore, be obliged, in a Day or two, to Imbark the Seamen, and am Sr., &c.

VINCENT PEARSE.

Col. Vanderdussen, upon the Receipt of this, wrote the following Letter to the General:

CAMP UPON ANASTATIA, 2nd July, 1740.

SIR: I have received a Copy of the Last Resolution of the Council of War, held on board the Flamborough,

founded upon the Report made to them by the Pilots, who went to Sound the Matansas, which Report makes it Impracticable to carry in those Men-of-War Sloops proposed; and another part of the Resolution is to take on board all the Men and in two days to Sail from Hence, which part of the Resolution, if put in Practice, will put it out of our power to go on with the Siege, it not being in my power to maintain this Island; nor can I get my Men off If I was ordered, and in particular the Guns and other Materials. And in my opinion there is no way to maintain our Conquest but by Leaving the Matansas and this Island, which I think might be done, and to as good purpose as if the Men-of-War would have gone in. The way I would propose is to Send the Carolina Schooner and all the other Craft into the Matansas, and to make a Battery upon the River St. Sebastian (which I mentioned to your Excellency), which Battery will keep their Gallies from moving any further to the Southward, and the other Battery keeps them from going towards the Bar. So that we shall Blockade them up in a place where they can be of no use, and hinder all communication from the Southward. But as this is not in my power without assistance, I would advise application to be made to the Commodore for these 200 men to be Left ashore with proper officers to Command them, and they would maintain one of the Batteries till the Hurricane months be over, and we have the Ships Return. Capt. Townshend told me he was willing to stay if the Commodore would give him Leave to Command the Men, if Left behind. He's a young fellow of Spirit and I am sure, by what I have Seen Since he has been ashore, that he will not be Backward in anything where glory may be acquired. I desire that you will propose this to the Commodore, and in the meantime Remain your Excellency's most Humble Servant,

ALEX. VANDERDUSSEN.

The General thereupon going over to Anastatia from the main, sent the following Letter to the Commodore:

CAMP UPON ANASTATIA, 2nd July, 1740.

SIR: *By Report of the officers of the Land forces under my Command, who I have spoke to, I find by Colonel Vanderdussen that, notwithstanding the Disappointment of the Sloops of the Men-of-War not being able to be Carried into the Matanzas, He with the Forces under his Command will undertake† to make a Battery, on the Bluff, under his Command, of the River St. Sebastian, which will keep the Gallies from moving further to the Southward. And the Battery upon the Beach will prevent them from going towards the Bar, which will Block them up so as to be of no use. But he can manage one of the Batteries only, and cannot do this unless I keep the Main and Communicate with him from the South. He therefore desires me to apply to the Commodore for 200 Men that are here belonging to the Fleet, to be left ashore, with proper officers to Command them, and they would Maintain one of the Batteries till the Hurricane Months be over, and the fleet Return to our assistance, and that one of the Men-of-War may Remain at Frederica. If nothing can be done to Secure the *Conquest* of this Island, the next thing is to Secure the Artillery and the Troops. By this Day's Return upwards of 50 Men are Sick and unfit for Service of my Regiment, and others do not fare better. It is *Impossible* without assistance to carry off the Artillery. If that were once Safe, I would, with the Land forces and Indians, keep the main and the Town blockaded till I hear what Supplies might probably come. But sickness amongst us, Succours thrown into the place by the Information you sent me from Capt. Fanshaw, and besides, the Half Gallies, makes me think it necessary to Lay before you what they may do if they should follow and fall upon St. Andrews, Frederica and all the Settlements of Car-

---

* App. No. 104.

† Here on the word of Gen. Oglethorpe himself we find that, so far from exhibiting impatience, Col. Vanderdussen continues to suggest plans to be executed by himself and his command, looking to perseverance until the ships should return.

olina, are *Engaged here, of Georgia and the Strength of Carolina are Engaged here. I desire, therefore, that you will think of protecting St. John's River, or at least Frederica, where Ships may come into Jekyll Sound, and take such other measures as may be proper to protect and preserve the Artillery and the Sea Coasts.

I am Sr., &c.,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

Few Guns fired this Day, and those by the Enemy. On the 3d †Col. Vanderdussen having Received Information in the Night that one of the Spanish Launches was come through the Matanzas, and the Rest following, Marched with the Company of Grenadiers to the Narrows, between the Island and the Main. At Day break in the Morning he discovered 3 Launches and a Sloop, with a flag at the Masthead, lying just by where he was; he marched towards them. But the Gallies, perceiving it, came Directly to their Protection, and obliged him to Retire. The Commodore sent the General the following answer to his Letter of the day before, with the Resolution of a Council of War thereon:

FLAMBOROUGH, OFF THE BAR ST. AUGUSTINE,
3rd July, 1740.

SIR: ‡I had the favour of yours last night by Capt. Warren: this morning I called a Council of War upon it. The Result of which I here Inclose to you, and agreeable to it shall, to-morrow Morning, embark the Seamen and Sail according to the Former Resolution of the Council of War. I shall, according to your desire, order one of the Men-of-War into Jekyll Sound. I am sorry that the Season of the year will not permit my Longer stay. I heartily wish you success, and am Sr., &c.,

VINCENT PEARSE.

---

* There is some obscurity in this passage—probably it should be "while Georgia and the strength of Carolina are engaged here."

† App. No. 105. ‡ App. No. 106.

*At a Council of War held on board his Majesty's Ship Flamborough, off the Bar of Augustine, 3rd July, 1740—Present, Capt. Vincent Pearse, Capt. Warren, Capt. Charles Fanshaw, Hono'ble Capt. Geo. Townshend, Capt. William Laws, Capt. William Dandridge: General Oglethorpe having applied to me, by his Letter of the 2d instant, to Leave on Shore 200 Seamen belonging to his Majesty's Ships here, to man one of the Batteries on the Island of St. Eustatia, the same was taken into Consideration, and the Council are unanimously of opinion that the same could not be Complied with, for the following Reasons: 1st. That the Companies of his Majesty's Ships here are Reduced so much by the number of Sick on board and weakness of the Rest by over Fatigue in blowing, squally and rainy weather, that if they should spare the Number of men required, the Remainder could not be able to Sail the Ships. 2ndly. That the time is so far Spent by which each Ship's Provisions are Reduced so low that it is Impossible to Leave a Sufficient Quantity of provisions for them till the Return of the Ships. 3rdly. That there are not Slops on board the Fleet sufficient to Cloath them, and as Seamen have no other way of being Supplied with Cloaths, they must perish with Sickness in Rainy Season, that is now coming on, for want of Cloaths and necessaries. And if his Majesty's Service shall be thought to suffer for want of the Seamen's being Left on Shore, it is the Humble Desire of every officer present that a Proper Enquiry may be made where the Fault lies, and that the Person or Persons who have not done their Duty, or deceived others, may be punished according to their Demerits. It being further Desired by General Oglethorpe, in his said Letter, that I would protect St. John's River, or at least Frederica, where Ships may come into Jekyll Sound, and take such measures as may be proper to preserve the Artillery and Sea Coast: the above being taken into Consideration, the Council are of opinion that if we could protect the Sea Coast by cruising, we might Remain here, which all the Pilots are of opinion we cannot possibly do, as may

* App. No. 106.

appear by the Resolutions of the Council of War the 5th June last; as to protecting St. John's River, we cannot Conceive how the General can suppose it to be done, Since he knows by Commodore Pearse's Letter of the 27th May Last, that it is Impracticable for a ship or sloop of war to go in and come out again. Signed by the officers:

VINCENT PEARSE.	GEO. TOWNSHEND.
PETER WARREN.	WILL'M LAWS.
CHAS. FANSHAW.	WILL'M DANDRIDGE.

*The General Returned late at night to his own Camp upon the main. On the 4th the Seamen were ordered on board their Ships; part of them Embarked. The General sent over to Anastatia, by Maj. Heron, the following orders. Directed to Col. Vanderdussen and Lieut. Col. Cook:

SIRS: I send you the final result of the sea. If you find you can't make good the Artillery and the Island, preserved them, to assist you † in Imbarking it: what cannot be preserved must be Destroyed, and the men and Craft preserved You may either send to St. John's, elsewhere, or here, as you think proper.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

Take what provisions you think fit out of Logie's New Sloop, that she may go over the Bar to St. John's River. Supply the Sick with Provisions from her or any other.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

Col. Vanderdussen, upon the Perusal of this, sent the following Letter to the General:

CAMP UPON ANASTATIA, 4th July, 1740.

‡Col. Cook Shewed me a small paper, wherein your Excellency desired him and me, if we could get no assistance from the Men-of-War, and could not bring off all the Artillery to Destroy the Remainder of them. As to the Artillery, as

* App. No. 107.

† This passage is not clear—but is substantially explained by ensuing letter from Col. Vanderdussen.

‡ App. No. 108.

Col. Cook has the Charge of them, I shall Leave that Intirely to him, and give him what assistance I can. You Desire us to preserve the Men and Craft, and to send them to St. John's, or elsewhere, which will not be so Easily done, for we cannot put our Men on board the Schooners, they not being able to get out at all times, and it is not to be supposed but that when the Gallies see us moving, they will pursue and destroy some of our Men. The only way that I know (if it must be done), is to pass over to Point Quartell, and as that must be done with Row Boats, I have not Sufficient Number of them, for you have my Principal Row Boat, and some of the others Lie at the Point. But I cannot apprehend our Case is so bad * as to Leave our affairs in such a Manner, for if nothing else can be done, I am sure, if your Excellency comes over to this Island, we may still keep them Blockaded till we can get more assistance. If we make a Battery upon the Bluff the Gallies will be kept in, and we may, at all times, send Parties with Indians over to the Main and Harass them there, and send all our Craft into the Matansas, where they will Lie safe, and send for more Provisions, from time to time, as we shall have occasion. Your Excellency told me you were to send for Walker's Schooner, which, if done, and she arrives with men, I am sure we could Destroy the Gallies without the assistance of the Men-of-War. Your Excellency will Excuse me for giving my opinion; as our Miscarriage will be of the Highest Consequence to the Province I have the Honour to be Sent by, I think it my Duty to offer anything that I think may save us from the Last Extream. But must leave that to your Excellency's superior Judgment, and therefore desire to have Positive orders from your Excellency how I am to Act, and shall take care to put them in Execution to the utmost of my power, and in the Meantime Remain Your Excellency's very humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

---

* Despair seems at last to have taken possession of the General himself—and from the "turbulent and disobedient" Carolinian come cheer and encouragement, and brave suggestion of something better than "to leave our affairs" in such manner.

In answer to this the General wrote back to Col. Vanderdussen thus:

CAMP BEFORE ST. AUGUSTINE, 4th July, 1740.

SIR: I thank you for giving your opinion, and your advice will always have a great weight with me. But the following Reasons Show the Necessity of Raising the Blockade from the Island and not losing all the Men there. Whilst they are preserved we may keep the Spaniards within Bounds, but if they are Lost, the Damage to the Province of Carolina will be very great. 1st. To Block up St. Augustine, Three parties are necessary, the 1st on Quartell, the 2nd on the Main, and the 3rd on Anastatia. 2nd. Keeping that Island will not Block the Town by water, as appears by the Succours, which came Newly from the Havanna in Sloops and Landed in the Town yesterday. 3rd. If we could not Block the Town by water, with the assistance of the Men-of-War, much Less without. 4th. If the Gallies come out as soon as the Men-of-War are gone, and those on the Island are Blockaded, the loss of them and the Artillery will be greater than the Raising the Blockade of St. Augustine. I am no judge of the Sea, nor whether the Craft can go into the Matansas. But if they can, the Succours that can go into the Matansas may come in here, and there is Less Danger of their attacking our Craft whilst the Men-of-War are in Sight, and Supported by your Schooner and Logie's Sloop. I therefore prefer the Saving the Men, and also the Artillery, if Possible. The mortars are the first, therefore, to be Carried off, The Cannon and all the warlike Stores. Nothing Should be Destroyed but what can't be Carried off with Safety to the Men. Upon Crafts being sent off, I approve of your passing with the Rest to Cape Quartell, and thence to join me. We will play a Hand Game upon them, and do not Doubt to restrain the Spanish Garrison, keeping them in and till the Craft is Safe, and will assist and Support you to the Last Man. You will send the Craft under the Convoy of the Men-of-War, if they can stay for them, to Frederica or Charlestown. The Prize with

Logie should go into St. John's and defend that. This is my Disposition, which I only mention as advice to be judged of as you find necessary; But what follows are orders.

ORDERS.

Lieut. Col. Cook and Col. Vanderdussen to Raise the Blockade from the Island of Anastatia, and come off with the Train and Troops, with the Least Loss you can prevent. But to Spoil Rather than leave the Artillery, and this Shall be your authority for so doing.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

*On the 5th the Seamen were all taken off from the Island and carried aboard the Ships by the officers. Those Men were paid, by the General's orders, 12d. Sterling per diem for Landing and giving their assistance in Mounting the Artillery. Col. Vanderdussen (without whose orders they had Landed them) Solicited them hard to do it, but they were permitted only to draw off the 2 Eighteen pounders from the Lower Battery, nearest to the Landing, one of which they left in a Boat alongside one of the Carolina Vessels, and the other they dropt at low Water Mark, and 5 Eighteen pounders more lay up and down, which they had Landed, but were never Mounted. About 10 in the forenoon, the General moving out of his Camp towards St. Augustine, a Body of about 300 Horse and foot came out to Meet him. But upon his advancing, and a Shell being thrown at the same time from Point Quartell, they only discharged their pieces and drove Back again full Speed. In a Short time they came out again and kept firing, but at such a Distance that only 3 were Slightly wounded. A Small party of the General's Men advanced, Beating the Grenadier's march very near the Castle, upon which they all Run in again as fast as before.† The General being within half a mile of the Place, under Cover of some bushes, asked Col. Barnwell what he thought of his letting Diego

* App. Nos. 110 and 25. † App. Nos. 55 and 32.

Spinosa (who was then with them) go in, for that he had Promised to Return in 3 days, to which the Col. answered, that he had often heard his father say Never trust a Spaniard, nor be afraid of an Indian, then, said the General, I perceive you do not approve of it. However, having added that the Letting go a Single Prisoner was of no consequence and that the Enemy knew the Situation of things by Deserters, he let the said Diego Spinosa go into St. Augustine to the great Dissatisfaction of all about him. A soon as ever he was in there the Castle began to fire at the very Spot where the General's Men Were, and obliged them to Retreat.* At night all the Men-of-War set sail, with a very fair wind, Except the Phœnix and Tartar, the Carolina Stationed Ships. At midnight a party of the General's men on the main alarmed the Town. The whole midnight almost was Spent on Anastatia in drawing down Artillery from the advanced Battery, about 2 Miles. Just before day the 9 pounder and 2 Mortars were got down. On the 6th, early in the morning, one Benj. Bayley (an Irishman) belonging to Maj. Colleton's Company, who had been helping to bring off the Artillery, and had seen the Guns dismounted, was taken in the Marsh, opposite to the Town, attempting to desert over to the Gallies, by July, a free Negro, who went with the Volunteers in this Expedition, and used to Scout with some Negroes and Settlement Indians as their Captain. The man being tried by a Court Martial, held by the officers of the Carolina Regiment, was Condemned to be shot the next day, and the Sentence sent to the General. About 40 Sick Men of the Carolina Regiment were put on board a Vessel in order to be sent home. All this day was Spent in imbarking Artillery and Stores of one kind or other. Col. Vanderdussen wrote the following letter to the General:

CAMP ON ANASTATIA, 6th July, 1740

SIR:† I hope by to-morrow to get most of our Cannon on board, and then shall hasten the Embarkation of the Troops. I cannot help thinking that we never shall have such an

* App. No. 111. † App. No. 112.

opportunity as we have now, for if we send our Craft Round to the Matansas, and make a Battery upon the Bluff, I will undertake to defend the place and keep them from all Communication to the Havanna or elsewhere, and that with 200 Men more than what I have now, till we get Supplies from the Colonies. Your Excellency told me your Reason for Raising the Blockade was that, while the Men-of-War were here, we could not stop them from bringing Provisions from the Havanna. The Reason was because the Matansas was open, and no Battery upon the Bluff, which alone will Stop all passage, both from the Matansas and Musquitos.

I am your Excellency's most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

*In the evening a Flag of truce was Sent in like manner as before by Col. Vanderdussen, with a Letter from the General to the Governour of St. Augustine, the purport of which was said to be, that he Desired that his People then Prisoners might be used well, and that he would pay for what should be allowed them. An answer was promised to be Sent the Next day. At Night 2 Eighteen pounders were drawn from the advanced Battery on the Island to the lower Battery. On the 7th, by day break, one Eighteen pounder more was drawn down. The Castle fired upon the People at Work; the other 18 pounder which Remained, having been cracked in firing, and not worth bringing off, was burst and Nailed, so that Now everything was brought off from the advanced Battery. Col. Vanderdussen sent the following Letter to our Lt. Governour by the Boat with the Sick Men:

CAMP UPON ANASTATIA, 7th July, 1740.

SIR: I wrote you at Large of all our Transactions hitherto; I am now getting the Guns and Mortars Shipped off for the other side, and hope to be Ready to-morrow to make my Retreat, which I hope to perform without any Loss; but what the General designs to do then I do not know. He says that he designs to keep upon the Land side, but I am

* App. No. 113.

almost sure that staying there is the Least of his thoughts, and, indeed, I think will be of no Service after Raising the Blockade upon this Island. We had the whole in our power, and still might Recover if we were to keep this Island, upon the Success of which I durst pawn my Life. I have done all I could against leaving the Blockade, both by word and Letters; but he is deaf to all, for what Reason the Lord knows. I wrote him yesterday, a Copy of which you have annexed. I have Sent this Boat with the Sick, and as soon as we get out shall send all the Rest to St. John's, where they shall Remain till I have other orders, and in the meantime Remain your Honour's most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

The Sentence passed the day before upon Bayley having been approved by the General, at 10 o'clock the Carolina Regiment was, by the Colonel's orders, under arms. Soon after the Man was Shot, having first Confessed that he died deservedly, for the whole Artillery being either Shipped, drawn off, or dismounted, and the Provisions, &c., put on board, the Enemy's coming at the Knowledge of it at that Juncture must have been of fatal Consequence to the Regiment. Col. Vanderdussen having at this Juncture perceived an Inclination to desert in some others, that either had Masters to Return to, or were in debt in Carolina, caused the whole Regiment to pass by the dead Body, man by man, and to Return to their places; then going to the head of the Regiment, made a Short and proper Speech upon the occasion.* The Baggage and some of the Guns were put on board, in which Capt. Tyrrel was of great Service in the assistance he gave. A great Storm of Thunder and Lightning and Rain coming up, the Province's Schooner's mast was much damaged, and the flag at the Topmast head Struck down. The Flag at the Lookout was also Struck down at the same time.† In the Evening the Flags of truce met, and an

* The charge of desertion applies to only two of the Carolina Regiment—one a New England man, and the other an Irishman.

† App. No. 115.

answer was brought from the Governour to the General's Letter. The officer who brought it having, upon Inquiry, been told the Reason of the Regiments being in Motion this Morning, Said such things would happen, and that they had, a few days before, Shot 4 Men for the same Reason. On the 8th Lieut. Col. Cook went over to Point Quartell, 2 Eighteen Pounders still Remaining Mounted at the Lower Battery, one of which he advised him to keep mounted till he went off, and then to Split it, which being afterwards Drawn off, and with the Remainder of the Artillery, being embarked in the afternoon, Col. Vanderdussen ordered all the Tents (except his own and those of the Front Line, which were in Sight of the Castle) to be struck and sent them on board the Craft, with all the Rest of the Luggage. Late in the evening he struck the Rest of the Tents, and sent them on board, then the Regiment was drawn up and lay on their arms. The Province Schooner and all the Rest of the Vessels and Boats were ordered to haul down by the Colonel to the Bar and lie there, Ready to go over in the morning. On the 9th, between 2 and 3 in the Morning, Col. Vanderdussen marched down to the water side with all the Regiment, except his own Company and the Company of Grenadiers, and having seen them imbark in good order, he then sent for those other 2 Companies, and saw them also imbarked a Little after Sun Rise, without the least confusion. Then he himself went off in a small Boat, having left nothing behind whatever but the Gun which was split. The tide being favourable and wind small, tho' there was a great swell upon the Bar, which caused the Largest of the vessels to thump upon it, and Brake off the Province Schooner's Keel, yet some being Rowed and some towed, all got Happily over in safety, being 14 sail in Number. The Colonel had ordered the Drums of the two last Companies to beat the Reveille and the sentries to pass the word, which Deceived the Enemy, but by that time the Sun was up, and not seeing the English Colours, nor any of our People, they fired from the Castle upon the advanced Battery, and no Return being made from thence, some of them

ventured ashore upon the Island. By this time all our Craft were got over the Bar. Then the Gallies dropped down opposite to Point Quartell Battery, where Ensign Mace was with about 50 of the General's soldiers, and fired very Briskly upon them. They Hulled the Georgia Periauger, lying there. Ensign Mace Returned some shot from the 6 Pounders lying on the sand. Col. Vanderdussen expecting that they would make a descent from the Gallies, immediately Landed with the Company of Grenadiers, and Lieut. Col. Lejeau also with 20 Men more in a Row Boat; the Company of Grenadiers being ordered to the assistance of Ensign Mace, the Gallies Retired.* Lieut. Col. Cook had sailed early in the morning, by the General's Directions, for St. John's, who carried off the mortar at that Point, and 2 Guns. Capt. Dunbar having been Left there by the General to desire Col. Vanderdussen to take off some sick men, their arms and Baggage, he accordingly sent them on board his own Boat. In the afternoon, the Craft having come near the Sea Beach, had Landed all the Regiment upon Point Quartell, which then lay open to their arms on the spot where they had had their first Camp on that Point. Col. Vanderdussen, seeing Capt. Fanshaw and Capt. Townshend under sail, went on board, and desired them to stay till night and Convoy the Craft to St. John's, which they did; then he ordered all the Craft to sail in the evening with them, except 2 Row Boats to go along the shore and attend the Regiment with Provisions. In the meantime† the General, who had gone from Point Quartell over to his Camp, near Moosa, in the morning, a little before Col. Vanderdussen's arrival, sent over orders to Capt. Dunbar and Ensign Mace to burn and destroy everything that they could not carry away, and to Retire to St. John's, who in the evening put these orders in Execution. He began with burning the Periauger, then he burnt above one hundred pounds sterling worth of Provisions (which the General, having purchased

---

* Thus Ensign Mace, with 50 of the General's soldiers, were saved by Col. Vanderdussen's prompt action.

† App. Nos. 116 and 120.

a short time before from a New York Sloop, had landed there). Consisting of Bread, Flour, Hams, Cheese, Butter, Beer, &c. The soldiers were Loth to part with the Liquor, and therefore Drank very heartily of it. In that plight they burnt next their Cloaths, spare muskets, &c.; one of the arms being loaded, discharged in the fire, and shot Ensign Mace in the thigh. The 3 six pounders belonging to the Phœnix they Buried in the Sands; all this time two of their own Row Boats lay there Empty, but they got out, but it seems never stopped till they got to St. John's. Having made this Havock, the soldiers leaving everything else behind them, marched, or rather Rambled, at night over into Carolina Camp very merry.* About the same time the General, Retiring with his Regiment from his Camp, near Fort Moosa, marched off (as he expressed it) with drums beating and Colours flying. †Col. Vanderdussen coming ashore and being informed of what had been carried off the Point, said that if they had applied to him he would have carried off their Provisions. About midnight he sent a party of his Regiment to their Camp at the Point, which they had quitted. ‡On the 10th, before day, that party brought off several Swivel Guns, Hand Grenades, Shovels, Pick Axes, and many other things, which were all put on board the Colonel's two Row Boats, together with the wounded Ensign. ‖The Colonel caused the Reveille to be Beat. The General's Men set off along the Beach for St. John's, being about 35 miles Distance. §At 9 o'clock the Carolina Regiment followed, having been detained till that time in fetching one thing or another from the Point, which the General's People had left there. Thus nothing was left at that Place but 3 Guns, which they had buried in the sand. The Regiment got to the first Palmetto Hut, being the first watering place, about 2 o'clock. It being a very hot day, they halted there till the Dusk of the Evening, when they Marched again, and halted at the Second watering place, about 2 o'clock, better than half way to St. John's. The General halted this

---

* App. No. 121. † App. No. 116. ‡ App. No. 116.
‖ App. No. 117. § App. No. 118.

Evening with his Regiment at a place called the Grove On ye 11th, in the morning, he got to Fort Diego. The Carolina Regiment, at break of Day, marched again, and about 10 o'clock got to St. John's River, where they found all the Craft Safe arrived, and encamped about half a mile nearer to the Sea than before. The weather being very hot, and but two or three Watering places in all the Long March, though upon a fine Beach, many of the men that were grown weak and had not been able to keep with the Regiment, came in afterwards. In the evening* an Express to Col. Vanderdussen from the General arrrived there from Fort Diego, to Know whether they had got safe there. This Express Informed him that the General marched from Moosa the night before he left Point Quartell. Col. Vanderdussen sent the following Letter to the General:

St. John's, 10th July, 1740.

Sir: I imbarked my men and made my Retreat, brought off all my Cannon and carried off everything that was upon the Island, and Landed two hours afterwards upon Point Quartell, and Immediately sent my Grenadiers to the Point to assist in Case the Gallies should make any attempt to Land men, and seeing the men-of-war under Sail, I went on board and Desired Capt. Fanshaw to stay till night, in order to Convoy our Craft, for fear of the Gallies, which he promised me he would do, and then I gave orders to all our Craft to go directly to St. John's, where he promised to Convoy them. At my arrival on shore I was told that Capt. Dunbar was gone over to your Excellency, who had ordered your People to Burn their Provisions, &c., and to Retire to St. John's. I sent before day Break, after your People had left the Point, for the Swivel Guns, Hand Grenades, and some other things that your People had Left, and put them on board a small Row Boat, which I had kept there to attend me, on board of which was Ensign Mace, who had been wounded by a musket that had been thrown into the fire when they were burning other things. I arrived this-

* App. No. 119.

Moment at this place, where I find the Craft all safe arrived. But the Schooner and Sloops are not got in yet, I suppose for want of tide. I am told that Col. Cook is upon the other side, and well, but have not yet heard from him. I am Ready to obey your Excellency's Commands, and Remain your Excellency's most humble servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

On the 12th, in the morning, that party of the General's men which had left Point Quartell got to the Camp at St. John's. On the 13th Col. Vanderdussen Received the following Letter from the General:*

FORT DIEGO, 13th July, 1740.

SIR: I am glad of your arrival at St. John's, and approve of your Expeditious Landing on Point Quartell, where you saw Capt. Dunbar, who was ordered to Concert with you, and to come to me on your Landing. I am sorry the Petiauger, which should have Carried off the Guns from Point Quartell, was stranded and burnt, which occasioned the Leaving those Guns. I marched with drums Beating and Colours flying the same night you left Point Quartell, and Encamped near Augustine, Expecting the Spaniards would have made a sally, for which purpose I stayed sometime the next morning, and Marched Gently on the brook by Yaraway, and that Evening to the Grove, and the next Morning Reached this place. I have had none Deserted, left none behind, nor Lost a man from hence. I have sent out parties to Quartell and Augustine to see what they are doing. Their Gallies advanced 6 miles up the River St. Diego, and then Returned, but by land they have made no advance at all. I send to Augustine a party of the Indians this day to attack any parties that come out. I march from hence tomorrow, in the afternoon, and Desire that you would stay at St. John's that I may Consult with you on the present

* App. No. 121.

occasion. Pray show this to the Lieut. Colonel, it will save Double writing.

I am, Sr., your most obedient humble servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

A Party of the Carolina Regiment was sent to Fort Diego to fetch what things were left there belonging to them. On the 14th some of the General's People arrived at the Camp at St. John's, who said that he intended to Burn Fort Diego and everything there, and Retire to St. John's. On the 15th. in the Evening, the General's Regiment got to St. John's: one of the officers Related that he had left Fort Diego without burning it, and with the addition of a Ditch and Breastwork Round it: that 3 of their men Deserted from Diego and 2 from Point Quartell the night before the Carolina Regiment marched from thence. That Diego Spinosa's Brother came out after them with a small party of Negroes and Indians to see whether the General was gone, and whether he had burnt Fort Diego, and that the Indians with the General (viz: the Chicasaws, as it appeared afterwards) scalped some of them, and having taken Diego's Brother, they would not part with him to the General, upon any Consideration, but carried him off. About 9 o'clock the General himself came into the Camp at St. John's. On the 16th Col. Vanderdussen Received from the General the following orders:

CAMP ON ST. MATHIS, IN FLORIDA,
16th July, 1740.

Colonel Vanderdussen and the Carolina Regiment are to stay in Florida till further orders, it being necessary for his Majesty's service, the General having sent up to Carolina to Concert with that Government the measures necessary to be taken against the Spaniards, and for the security of the Province of Carolina at this Juncture.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

This day Col. Vanderdussen Received the following Letter from our Lieut. Governour:*

* App. No. 124.

CHARLESTOWN, July 9, 1740.

SIR: Although I had yesterday sent my Letters by the Scout Boat, yet I thought proper by Vaughan to acquaint you that Capt. Walker's Schooner's will be Ready in two or three days. I shall send in her Capt. McNeal and his Company, a Master and Sailing Crew, 6 Nine pounders (that she may withstand the Gallies on occasion), 12 or 14 Swivel Guns, some plank, &c. Our assembly are to meet next Week; please to communicate the Contents of this to the General and Captains of his Majesty's Ships.

I am Sr., your most Humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

On the 17th Colonel Vanderdussen Received two Letters from our Lieutenant Governour,* acquainting him, among other things, besides the said intention that, as soon as the Men-of-War should come away, he would order Capt. Tyrrel and all the other Masters in the pay of this Province to follow his orders, that as soon as the assembly met (which would be on the 15th) he would Endeavour to prevail with them to do what was most for the Service of his Majesty and the good of their Country, and should also apply to the Governours of North Carolina and Virginia for some assistance, in order to Continue the Blockade, if nothing more could be done. †On the 18th Colonel Vanderdussen having communicated the same to the General, who said he had Received a Letter himself to the Like purpose, and asked him what he designed to do, the General Replyed that he would only refresh his Men and then march Back; that if they could March from thence (St. John's) to Augustine in one day, the Enemy, thinking they were gone, would be Liable to be Surprised, and that he would write the Lieut. Governour at Large. The Letters which the General Received at this time were two, as follows:

CHARLESTOWN, 28th June, 1740.

SIR: Your Letter of the 10th instant I Received by the hands of Capt. William Palmer, who has informed me that

* App. No. 125. † App. No. 126.

he was present in the Engagement when his Father and about 78 men were Killed by the Spaniards in the attack they made against the Small party of our forces, consisting of 140 Men, about a mile distance from the Castle, who you say being Left to alarm the Spaniards on the Land side, were Surprised by them. It is a matter of great Concern to me to hear the Enemy had so great an advantage of those brave Men, and to make such a Havock among them, without the Least fear of their being relieved or Supported by any assistance, as one Regiment was safe with you on the Island, and the other on the Point opposite to it, without the Craft hired by this Government for their use and service, and the Spaniards at full Liberty to go anywhere but on the Island and Point, where two Regiments are posted. The Concern I have for Carolina and the well wishers who are so Chearfully to venture their lives in this Expedition, makes me hope and desire to hear something more to the Benefit and Satisfaction of the good people of this Province, who have so Readily assisted in this undertaking. I shall send you this by Mr. Dugald McNeil, a Gentleman whom I have appointed a Captain in Colonel Vanderdussen's Regiment. I heartily wish you Success, and am Sr., your most Obedient Humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

CHARLESTOWN, 7th July, 1740.

SIR:* By the Scout Boat I Received your Letter of the 13th June last, wherein you are pleased to inform me that you had Recovered Moosa, buried the dead, and drove the Spaniards into St. Augustine; That you greatly want an assistance of Men: That Malachi and Chigilli, with all the Lower Creeks, have declared for us, and some of them have been down, and more are Expected every day at Pupa. I am glad you are like to have such assistance from the Creeks at a time when you want it. They or the other Indians are able and will do good Service on this occasion, if they are well used, Encouraged, and not disgusted by any Restraint

* App. No. 128.

from that they apprehend they have a right to Enjoy whilst they are in an Enemy's Country. And I am glad to hear there are fewer killed than was Reported, though we have no Assistance from those who are yet alive, since they are Prisoners, and can't avoid discovering the Number and Condition of our Divided forces, which may prove a greater benefit to the Enemy than they could have if our Troops were united. Col. Vandcrdussen can Inform you that my Endeavours and attention were Employed with the greatest diligence, and in every Shape, to Encourage and prevail with our Inhabitants to proceed in the Expedition, and there is Little reason to expect any further assistance of men from this Province, since the Success, as it is Called, of the undertaking has given so Little Satisfaction ever since the Surrender of Fort Diego, which was about the 12th May last.

I should be glad to hear what Benefit we can have from Moosa, or the Island of Eustatia, being in our possession, two places which the Enemy had deserted, or thought proper not to Contend for, by their Making no Residence at either that ever I heard of. Our General Assembly are to meet the 15th Instant, and I will then Endeavour to lay before them a true state of our affairs, and prevail with them as far as possible to do what is most for the Service of his Majesty and good of their Country. In the meantime I am fitting out Walker's Schooner, which Mr. Bulledge Informed me I was desired should be sent, with some more Plank. I was informed the other was mismanaged and lost. I shall send in this Schooner Capt. McNeil and his Company, a Master and Sailing Crew, 6 nine pounders, that she may withstand the Gallies upon occasion. 12 or 14 Swivel Guns, &c. I shall apply to the Governour of North Carolina and Virginia and desire an assistance of Men at their Expense, in order to Continue a Blockade, if nothing more can be done. But I have been in hopes of hearing that our Forces were united, and carrying on regularly the approach, in order to get Possession of the Town and Confine the Enemy to the Castle, where they would soon have felt the Effects of

our Smallest Shells falling among them, and if no Steps to such a purpose have been or will be taken, I Confess I have Little hopes of that Success, which was at first Expected, and so much desired, by the Inhabitants of this Province. The Schooner will, I hope, be ready in two or three days, but as the Scout Boat waits, I thought it the most certain way to send the Letters with her Rather than the Schooner.

I am Sr., your most Humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

On the 19th the General sent the following Letter to our Lieut. Governour:

CAMP IN FLORIDA, 19th July, 1740.

SIR: To satisfy our friends, though I have but very little time, I shall Trouble you with a Long Letter, which I believe will clear up all objections concerning the Management of the present Expedition. Augustine cannot be Closely shut up without Dividing the Troops that Besiege it; there must be one party on the Main, one on St. Anastatia, and one on Quartell, which I could not Execute till the Seas spared the 200 from the Island. You must remember I mentioned that Augustine was Scarce of food, the Entrenchment round the Town weak, and the Garrison not Completed. I therefore insisted to attack it Immediately, since all hopes of Success lay in Speed, and that as I apprehended, if we delayed, Succours would come from Cuba, they would Fortify the Town, fill up their new Effectives; the Season of the year would force the men-of-war into Harbour, and the Heat would occasion Sickness amongst ours. All which has happened. After I Left Charlestown, and before the Troops got to the Rendezvous, 6 half Gallies with Long Brass Nine pounders, got into Augustine, with 2 Sloops Loaded with Provisions. These half Gallies made the Communication between the Main Land by the Indian Church and the Sea Impracticable, unless we could make ourselves masters of the Harbour and the Entrance of the Bar. Therefore we made ourselves masters of Point Quartell and the

Island of Anastatia. It was Impossible to carry heavy Cannon and mount them, and make Trenches without Pioneers, and you know when I proposed 400 of them, whites or Negroes, it was an Expense the Province could not afford. The Commodore and officers of his Majesty's Ships helped us at this dead Lift. They Landed the Guns and Mortars upon the Island, which they could not do upon the Main. The Commodore and Sea officers agreed with me that they would attack the Gallies, which, if taken, was to be followed by Col. Vanderdussen attacking the Town on the Water side at the same time as I was to attack it on the Land. I accordingly went on the Main. If the Town had been Carried and the People forced into the Castle, the Bombs would have Forced the Castle soon to Surrender: and till then the People Retired to the farthest part of the Town. Whilst the half Gallies were untaken, it was Impossible to attack the Town on the Water side, and the Fortifications were so Increased since January last, that there was no pretending to attack it on the Land side without its being at the same time Stormed on the other. The Commodore acquainted me that the Council of War found it Impracticable to attack the half Gallies, and that they were obliged to leave the Coast on the 5th of July, and that the Several Vessels loaded with Provisions were got into the Matansas for the Spaniards. Colonel Vanderdussen Made Several Handsome Proposals, to which I Refer you. The Indians were tired with the Heats and Bad weather, and Resolved to Return home; I was obliged to give very Large Sums to get them to stay a few days. Our men grew unhealthy, so that the Returns of the Sick have amounted to 50 a day. The place our Craft lay in within the Bar of Augustine was Exposed to Easterly winds, which now begin to grow dangerous, and considering everything, I thought the only safe way was to remove and to Embark the Cannon, Mortars, &c., to send them in safe Harbour and to keep the field and wait till we could hear what Succours towards taking the Town could be hoped for. Col. Cook and Col. Vanderdussen got everything on board from Anastatia, and all the

Craft came in Safe hither. After the Craft were sailed, Col. Vanderdussen landed, by my orders, on Point Quartell, and marched from thence to St. John's. I marched at first towards the Town, then returned and Encamped 8 miles from it. The next day I marched about 7 miles more and halted that night to see if I could draw them to Venture any men out from Augustine, and next day to Fort St. Diego, where a Party of their Horse, Negroes and Indians, attempting to pursue us, were Charged and Beaten, one Spanish Horseman taken and 2 Indians killed, and the rest ran very fast to the Town. I joined Col. Vanderdussen at this Camp where we are, in a Condition any time to March Back and attack Augustine, if Strength Sufficient should arrive, having all our Provisions and Artillery ready on board the Craft. It is absolutely Necessary, if Augustine is not taken, to pursue some Measure to restrain the half Gallies, for the mischief they can do along the Coast is inconceivable. With Respect to the affairs at Moosa, I send deposition, by which you will find that the occasion of Losing that Party was the disobeying my orders, and Mr. Palmer is mistook in many parts of his account.

I am Sr., your most obedient humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

P. S.—I was very glad you sent Walker's Schooner. I wish that she had come Sooner. I am very willing to give all assistance I can towards Lightening the Burthen of the good People of Carolina, and therefore will pay 100 men, if they are discharged out of the Carolina Regiment, into an Independent Company which I will Raise. They will enable you to send 100 fresh men to the Regiment without any new Expense.

July (the free Negro), having been out Scouting the day before with some Indians, Reported that he had seen some Cattle on the other side a Creek. Col. Vanderdussen sent him out again before day to kill some of them, and at the same time he sent also a party of 50 men of the Regiment to view all the avenues between that and Fort Diego, and

see if any of the Spaniards were out that way. The General also sent the same time an Ensign and 40 Men of his Regiment to the Palmetto Hut, in order to Launch a Boat that was ashore there. In the evening July Returned to the Camp, having come up with the two herds of Cattle, near 50 head in each, and killed 3 of them. On the 20th, in the morning, the General's party Returned from the Palmetto Hut to the Camp, having lost a Sergeant, Corporal, and 3 Men, who deserted while they were there from the head of the Command, with their arms and accoutrements, upon which Col. Vanderdussen immediately dispatched an Express to Carolina with the following Letter to the Lieut. Governour:

CAMP ST. JOHN'S, 20th July, 1740.

SIR: Yesterday the General sent out a party of 40 Men, the Sergeant, Corporal and 3 men of which party deserted from the head of the Command, with their arms and accoutriments, and about 14 deserted from him before; which Spirit of desertion, if it continue, may be of Dangerous Consequence. I desire you will send me orders what I am to do, as soon as Possible, for our People grow very Sickly.

I am your Honor's most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

In the Evening the party which Col. Vanderdussen had sent out the day before Returned into the Camp. In the Night 3 Men more of the General's Regiment deserted.* On the 21st† the General's Men threatened to go away in whole parties if they were not Carried Back: obliged to Imbark them all in the Evening. Except his Body guard, and send them over to St. George's Island, from whence he ordered them to go to Frederica. ‡On the 22d in the Morning, the General's Regiment, having Struck their Flag at Fort St. George, marched off towards Frederica. Colonel Vanderdussen still Remained with the Carolina Regiment on the Spanish side of St. John's River, waiting for orders from

* App. No. 131. † App. No. 132 and 136. ‡ App. No. 133.

our Lieut. Governour, and the arrival of Walker's Schooner (fearing she might pass by, and Expecting to find him at Augustine, fall into their hands), and also to protect some Men which the General sent up to destroy Pupa, on the North side. *In the Evening July came into the Camp with the Indians, and gave Information that they had met with the Tracks of several Spanish Indians, whereupon they were ordered to keep out all night, and the Regiment to be under arms (as they were there every Morning) at 3 o'clock in the morning. On the 23rd the Regiment was accordingly under arms at 3 in the morning, and at sun Rise the Company of Grenadiers marched round the Camp, at some distance in the woods, and found several fresh Tracks of Indians, who had been at the Creek behind the Camp that Morning, but saw none of them. In the afternoon the Baggage was ordered aboard. †On the 24th, in the Morning, 4 of the Creek Indians that were taken Prisoners at Fort Moosa came into the Camp at St. John's. The Governour of St. Augustine had given them their Liberty and Presents, in order to make that nation his friends, and had Dispatched them with Letters to the Governour and others at St. Francis and St. Mark's, giving him a Particular account of all that had happened, and how St. Rosana had protected them in a most miraculous Manner from the English: for that when the Blockade was made they had but 3 days' Provisions of Bread and flour in the Castle, and acquainted him that, in Case the War Continued, it would be very necessary to have more Indians of their Party. The Men whom the General had sent to destroy Fort Pupa being Returned, Col. Vanderdussen embarked all his Regiment on board the Carolina Craft in order to Return home. On the 25th all the Vessals weighed anchor to go over the Bar, but only the Province's Schooner and a few others got out. On the 26th all the rest of the Vessels got over to St. John's Bar, and having joined the others, Col. Vanderdussen set sail with the whole for St. Simon's, in order to Supply them with Water there (that at St. John's being Scarce fit to

* App. No. 136. † App. No. 134.

Brink), and also to take in the Guns which had been Shipped off at Anastatia on board some of the General's Vessels. On the 27th, at 4 in the afternoon, all the Vessels arrived at the Camp at St. Simon's, where they found the Tartar, Man-of-War, and Col. Vanderdussen Received by the Scout Boat the following Letter and orders from our Lieut. Governour:

CHARLESTOWN, 10th July, 1740.

*SIR: I herewith send you a Copy of the Resolution of the General Assembly in Relation to the Forces employed in the pay of this Province, to assist in the Expedition against St. Augustine. By which you will see that I am desired to give orders for the Immediate Return of the Forces under your Command in the pay of this Province. I do therefore hereby order and direct that you, with all convenient speed, do Embark in the Vessels and Boats belonging to and in the pay of this Province the Troops under your Command, with the Cannon, small arms and ammunition, and other Warlike Stores, Indian Presents, &c., belonging to this Province, and to make the Best of your way to Charlestown, to which place I wish you a good passage and safe arrival.

I am Sr., your most affec't humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

On the 28th Colonel Vanderdussen landed all his men at St. Simon's to Refresh them. The same day the General's troops arrived there from St. Andrew's. Col. Vanderdussen sent the following Letter to our Lieut. Governour:

ST. SIMON'S, 28th July, 1740.

*SIR: In my last by Mr. Stone I gave your honour account of the Desertion of the General's people. The next day after that they Threatened to go away in parties if they were not carried Back, which obliged him to Embark them all before Night, and ordered them to Frederica. I stayed there 3 days afterwards, waiting for your Honour's orders

* App. No. 135. † App. No. 136.

and the arrival of Walker's Schooner (lest he should have passed by and fallen into their hands at Augustine, expecting to find us there), also to protect those men that were sent up by the General to destroy Pupa. As soon as they arrived I imbarked all the Forces and made sail for this Place, to Supply ourselves with Water (that at our Camp at St. John's not being fit to be drank), and likewise to take in the Guns that had been shipped off for this place on board some of the General's Vessels. I Received your Honour's orders yesterday by the Scout Boat for my Immediate return with the forces and Warlike Stores, belonging to the Province of South Carolina, which I shall Directly put in Execution. I had already taken 3 Eighteen pounders from on board Davis's Sloop and put them on board of Capt Tyrrel, when I Received a Letter from the General from Frederica, in which he answered that to him (he being Sick) in order to Consult with me, as he said, upon something he had Received from Carolina. I communicated my orders to him, and desired that he would give orders to Capt. Logie to deliver 5 more Eighteen pounders he had on board of him, and was then lying at Frederica; to which he answered that he would not let me have them, having no Guns to protect that place, and would, therefore, enter a Protest, for which purpose he has Sent for Col. Cook, who is upon Cumberland. As those Guns are on board of Vessels belonging to himself, it will not be in my Power to bring them away without orders. I hope by to-morrow night to have all the Vessels watered, and shall sail the Next day for Carolina, and in the meantime I Remain your Honour's most humble Servant,

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

On the 3rd August, the Regiment being reimbarked, all the Vessels set Sail from St. Simon's, and having been obliged, by Contrary winds, to put into Savannah, where they lay from the 5th to the 12th, on ye 13th they all arrived safe at Charlestown, 14 Men having come back less than went out, Viz: 7 died of the Flux, 1 of the Quinzy, 4 By differ-

ent accidents, 1 (a New England Man) deserted, and 1 (an Irish Man) shot for attempting to desert. But as it pleased God not a Man of the Regiment having been killed by the Enemy.

Thus your Committee have made a faithful Narrative to the House of the manner in which the Expedition against St. Augustine was conducted, in which that the House might have the fullest Information possible, they have not omitted the Transaction of any one day that hath come to their Knowledge. The many days which contain only things that may appear Singly of little Importance to have been Related, perhaps will be thought, all together, to afford not the most Trifling information. And though your Committee are fully sensible that, after this plain statement of facts, they must be anticipated in anything that they can further say, yet as it is their Duty they will now point out to the House what they Conceive to be the Principal and most apparent Causes of the Ill Success that attended this most Extraordinary Expedition, which proved to have all the advantages in its favour which this Province pleased itself with the Expectation of when it engaged therein. They will also, with as much brevity as possible, add such observations upon the whole affair as appear to them to be proper. And here your Committee beg leave, previously, to observe that as they are not bred Soldiers, so they do not pretend to much knowledge in military affairs, as they are understood to be an art or Science; yet as there is no Science whatever the Rules of which are not founded agreeably to Reason, so your Committee, making use of that Share of Reason only which God hath been graciously pleased to deal out in Common to all man-kind, will (as they think they have a Right to do) freely discuss and Censure those Steps which have been taken in this Expedition that seem to them Repugnant thereto. Your Committee cannot help taking notice first of one or two Steps which taken by the General prior to this Government's having actually Engaged to assist in an Expedition, and while he was only treating about it, yet drew after them a Consequence of the Utmost

Importance afterwards to the Success thereof. The one was his Landing in Florida (as hath been observed that he advised our Lieut. Governour the 29th December), upon some Spaniards having Killed two of his People upon Amelia Island, and pursuing them within a few miles of St. Augustine, where the Indians, then with him, Killed one negro. Must not this action have given a great alarm to the Governour of that place? Was it prudent in the General, on so Slender an occasion, to land himself in person in an Enemy's Country at a time when he was preparing to make an Invasion in form? The other step was, as hath been observed, that he advised the Lieut. Governour, the 20th January following, of his attacking and taking, on the 8th of that month, two Little Spanish Forts on the River of St. John's, Viz: St. Francis de Pupa, on the north side (where he easily took indeed a few Prisoners), and left a Garrison, it seems, of about 40 Men, and Picolata, on the south side, from whence the Men there as Easily made their Escape to St. Augustine, which is but about 45 miles from it, after this Province had agreed to assist the General in an Expedition. This gave so great an alarm that, as it appeared by Letters which Capt. Warren found on board the Vessel that he took bound from St. Augustine to Cuba, The Governour of St. Augustine Sent an account thereof to Cuba, adding that he Expected a Siege, and pressed for an Immediate Supply of Provisions, ammunition, &c., to Enable him to maintain the place. The Consequence of this was, besides a Supply of Provisions, the arrival of 6 half Gallies, which makes so great a figure in the Narrative, which employed the attention of our Forces more than the Castle, and Kept them under perpetual nightly arms to defend themselves. This appears by the General's Letter, which your Committee have repeated in their narrative, dated 19th July, wherein he says: "After I left Charlestown, and before the Troops got to the Rendezvous, 6 half Gallies, with long Brass 9 pounders got into St. Augustine, with 2 Sloops Loaded with Provisions." The General's Conduct in these two Cases appears to your Committee the more Extraordinary, as they

observe that in the very first Letter, dated 27th September, which he wrote to the Lieut. Governour upon the subject of this Expedition, he presses his Honour that they might begin with the Siege of St. Augustine before more Troops arrived there from Cuba. Ought he then to have taken any one step that could be supposed sufficient to put the Governour of that place upon sending for Succours? Though the mind being long Entertained with something different from what it Expected, and carried away Insensibly by a scene of action from its first object, is apt to Lose Sight of it, yet your Committee think it in a manner needless to remind the House of the footing upon which the Expedition of St. Augustine was Engaged in by this Government. It is impossible that any member of this House can Have forgot it: a vigorous sudden attack was to be made upon the Town. If that was carried upon the first surprise, and the People forced into the Castle, then we were Immediately to Bombard it, and Keep out any supply of Provisions. Therein all our hopes and dependence were placed. If that attempt miscarried, then to lay Siege to the place in October following, till when a thing of that nature was not proposed to be put in Execution, the preparation not being Calculated for it, not even Cannon for a Battery so much as mentioned in the General's Estimate. The twelve 18 pounders which did go were sent by the Lieut. Governour, to be Ready at hand in Case such a thing should be wanted, and found to be of service. Yet any one unacquainted with this, and hearing only the Narrative which your Committee have made of the Conduct of the Expedition, could not possibly conceive that any such sudden attempt was ever proposed, much less concerted and agreed upon. It is obvious to the Greatest degree, that from the time the General left Charlestown to that memorable day when he showed himself with the forces before St. Augustine, every step he took, everything he did, tended manifestly to alarm the place before hand, and to prevent that surprise upon which our chief hopes of success depended. As soon as ever he got himself to the place of Rendezvous appointed, where he had agreed with the Different Com-

mands to Concert Measures, before the Commodore of his Majesty's Ships, before Col. Vanderdussen, that had the chief Command of the Carolina Forces, or any other field officer of either Regiment arrived, there he passes directly over St. John's River into Florida with what men he only had, then marches away about 25 miles (about half way to St. Augustine from thence), to attack a Little Pallisade Fort upon a Cowpen within about 20 miles of St. Augustine, which having been Surrendered to him upon articles, he spends about 3 weeks more with as Remarkable Slowness in doing nothing but Sending out Parties towards Augustine to Reconnoitre, and parties back to St. John's to fetch daily Provisions, chiefly on their Backs.

During all this time the Spaniards at St. Augustine had frequent opportunity of Knowing both the arrival and the number of the forces. For the very day the General had the above Fort surrendered to him, a party of Spanish Horse and foot came in sight and Returned Back to St. Augustine. He himself, 4 Days afterwards, pursued some Spanish Indians that shot one of his Servants within sight of Augustine, at which time also another party of Spanish Horse and foot discovered him and Retired. Some of the Prisoners which he had taken in Fort Diego made their Escape from Boats which they were put on board of at St. John's, and two more of those Prisoners he sent into St. Augustine himself with Letters, it seems, to Encourage the men of that Garrison to desert to him, upon a promise of good Usage, &c. However at last he marched from Fort Diego with all the Forces to St. Augustine, and on the 2nd June, before day, halted within 2 miles of it. All the men-of-war, in number 7, had showed themselves the day before off the Bar. At this time then it was to be Expected that he should have Endeavored to push into the Town and force the Inhabitants into the Castle, but we are most Surprisingly told that he went in this manner only to reconnoitre the place: indeed he did not so much as carry a mortar with him, and scarce any ammunition or Provisions; and when Col. Palmer, who had the most Knowledge of the place, offered to head a party of

men and to go in and burn the town, the General, in a most amazing manner, tells him That it was too Hazardous an action, that he Knew what to do; that it was the custom of armies always to show themselves to the Enemy first and to make a Feint. Your Committee are really at a Loss for words to Express their Sense on this occasion. What, did the General never think before how hazardous this action was to be, or if he did, and thought it too Hazardous, why did he lead this Government into so great and needless Expense? Did not every man that went from this Province go voluntarily, with the Expectation of Running such a Hazard? What could the General desire more than a whole Regiment of Men willing to Enter upon such an action? Your Committee are acquainted with the Feints and many other things in the Rules of war, but they cannot reconcile it to their Reason that any General who Really Intends to Surprise a place, should first bring all his forces before it then march off again, as ours Did, with Drums Beating and Colours flying. Can any greater Cause be assigned for the Ill Success of the Expedition than this already given? Your Committee think not. Though so much alarm had been given before, yet it appears that on sight of our Troops the Town was put in the utmost confusion, and in all probability must have been taken, because by the Information of Deserters the Governour had ordered the Inhabitants, in Case of an attack, to go into the Castle. Our men were Desirous to attack it, and though by that time they had been too much fatigued with marches, yet they were never in better spirits or Condition for it afterwards, and what is very Remarkable, the General Knew so well the Benefit of a Surprise that in the Close of the Expedition, after all the forces had retreated to St. John's, he proposed to march back again to St. Augustine to Surprise it. However your Committee apprehend that the wrong steps, great as they were, might have been made amends for afterwards, tho in another Manner. They will, therefore, take notice of the other Causes of the Ill Success attending the Expedition. It hath been observed already that the

*General left the place of Rendezvous before the Commodore or Col. Vanderdussen got to it, so that nothing was Concerted between the Different Commands at the first setting out, and it appears by the Examination of the Colonel and the Lt. Colonel of the Carolina Regiment, that the General never called any one Council of War during the whole Expedition afterwards. Nay, the most Important step he took, and which proved the most fatal, that is his leaving the Main and going off to the Island Anastatia, he did not make Known to the Colonel till after he was actually embarked, notwithstanding that he wrote him the very day before upon some other affair, and tho' he did the day before Communicate by Letter to Lieut. Col. Cook his Intention of going on board a Man-of-War. Yet it is observable that that Gentleman, in his Letter to Col. Vanderdussen, says the General had Let him no further into the Secret of his Expedition. A very Extraordinary thing Indeed when it is Considered that this was the principal, a very worthy and the most Experienced officer he had about him (tho' seldom to be found near his Person throughout the Expedition), and whose presence therein, particularly as an Engineer, was not the Least Inducement this Government had to Engage in it. 'Tis true the General seems to have paid a great Regard to the Opinion of a Council of War, held on board the men-of-war 5th June, which declared the taking possession of Anastatia necessary towards the Reduction of St. Augustine, and offered to land 200 of their Men, If the General would land also 200 of his, in consequence of which he seems to have taken that fatal step. But tho' they were the best Judges what was Necessary to stop all Communication by sea, yet they can by no means be allowed to be Judges of what was further necessary towards the Reduction of the place, and he ought surely to have taken and preferred the opinion of the Land Officers therein. Indeed, when the General found himself Embarrassed on the Island and everything was at a stand, there was, by Col. Vanderdussen's means, a sort of accidental Conference between the

* App. Nos. 25 and 57.

General, the Commodore himself and the Captains of the Men-of-War then on shore, wherein the General did go so far as to ask them what was to be done in the present situation of affairs, the Result of which hath been Largely related. And afterwards, when the Men-of-War were about to leave him, he writes to Col. Vanderdussen, 30th June, to give him his advice what were the best measures to be taken, in Case the Gallies should not be attacked. But this seems to have been calculated only for his being Justified in doing what he then intended to do in Case the Colonel should advise him thereto. For when the Colonel Vanderdussen afterwards, in his Letter of the 4th July, had told him that he did not apprehend their Case to be so bad as to leave their affairs in the manner he had signified, and advised him in what manner to Continue the Blockade, the General, in answer thereto the same day, thanks him for giving his opinion, and tells him his advice would always have a great weight with him, but at the same time orders him positively to bring off the Troops. The General Landing at the Mouth of St. John's, was followed by very Ill Consequences. The distance from thence to St. Augustine appears to have been about 45 miles, and the Road so bad that after making many Causeys with much Labour over Creeks and Marsh Ground, in order to draw along one four pounder, he was at last obliged to leave it on the way; whereas the distance from Picolata to St. Augustine appears to have been about 15 miles, and the Road very good. At that place the General, tis well known to your Committee, was advised, when he was here, by those who were acquainted with it, to Land his forces, and it appears, by the Examination of Colonel Barnwell, that he had not forgot that advice, but did not approve of it, lest the leaving sight of the men-of-war should discourage his men. Your Committee Can easily enough apprehend that the leaving sight of the men-of-war on a Retreat might discourage men. But they can't conceive how it was possible that a short separation from men-of-war, which they knew to be near at hand, and in no danger at that time to be Blown off by bad weather, Should

discourage men that were going to act offensively, nor can they think there was any prudence in the General preferring a march of 45 to 15 miles in so warm a climate, and at Such a Season of the year, and where beside the want of water very Little was to be had. The time the men were Employed in Consequence of this Step in being obliged to fetch Provisions from the Craft 25 miles at a time on their Backs was very Considerable, and the men were soon excessively fatigued in doing this, together with other marches, so that it is not to be Imagined they were fit for action with an equal number of fresh men. It is Manifest that, notwithstanding the Supply of Provisions which the Government of St. Augustine received with the Gallies before the General appeared before it, the place was still in a very great want of more, which was known to him, and it no way appears that there was any addition to the usual number of men but what came in those Gallies, which must have been about 200. If then the General not willing to hazard his men by attacking the town, had been Content only with Keeping it close Blockaded a few weeks with his forces on the Main, whilst the men-of-war, who had undertook to do it, prevented any supply of Provisions by Sea, a speedy surrender must have ensued. Nothing can be more manifest, because the Governour, in his Letters sent to the Government at St. Mark's, acknowledged that he had but 3 days Provisions of Bread and flour left when our forces withdrew. Instead of doing this, we find the General, in a Sudden manner, Embarked with his own Regiment and about 100 Indians on board the men-of-war, leaving Col. Vanderdussen with the Carolina Regiment, then at Point Quartell, Lieut. Col. Cook, with about 50 men in Garrison at Diego, and 133 men, whites and Indians, on their March, Artillery, a Sergeant, and a few men at the Palmetto Hut, to take care of what else he had Left there; about 50 men in Garrison at Diego, and 133 men, whites and Indians, on their March to Retake Fort Moosa, alarm the Spaniards in Augustine, and Blockade them on the Main. This being the Disposition of the Forces, having with the addition of 200 Seamen, also Landed and

made a Conquest, as he calls it, of the Island Anastatis (where there was not a man to oppose him), after a great delay 2 Batteries are Raised opposite to the Town and Castle, and a great many shells thrown and 18 pounders fired. But the distance such, all to no purpose, the shot but Just go a-Cross the River, the Shells fall mostly short or Burst in the air. Notice is given by the Ringing of a Bell whenever any are thrown, the People Retire without the Town, and the small party on the Main being Cut off, the Inhabitants are Daily Seen going in and out of the Town fetching Cattle. The Batteries are declared by the Engineers to be of no Service, and at Last no Longer thought so by the General himself. Hence he seems to have thought of new measures, and we find him writing to his Honour, the Lieut. Governour, in his Letter, dated 16th June, that he couldn't Besiege the Town and Castle with so small a force, and wishes for more men, and in that of the 24th June, soliciting for more men and Walker's Schooner, and in that of the 30th June, that he greatly wanted an assistance of Men, and afterwards, in that of the 19th July, writing in vindication of his Conduct, he says that Augustine could not be Closely Shut up without dividing the Troops that besieged it, thereby amusing us with a word as if it was actually a siege that he had undertaken. To shew that the Disposition which the General made of the Troops was not either for a Siege or Blockade as well as to Illustrate some other things; to some other things the Committee have annexed to their Report a Plan of the field of action, by which it will Readily be seen by the most Careless and Indifferent eye that the Different forces could not timely assist or Support one another in Case of an attack, and that the General might have thrown Shells and fired Cannon forever to no purpose. It hath been observed that the walls of the Castle were built with soft Stone, or Rather a Cement of Shells and Sands cut out of the Earth in Squares, and Supposing even that with the Battering cannon the General could at that distance and across so wide a River have made a Breach in those Walls, what could have followed next but to Stand and Look

at it. Notwithstanding this ill Conduct of the General, the Expedition would, in all probability, have Succeeded at last by meer good fortune, the Spaniards not having had the Spirit to attack any of our forces under all their disadvantages (for those which attacked the party at Moosa on such unequal terms were Negroes and Forsadoes and Convicts, animated with the Promise of Freedom), and such an Inclination there was in the Garrison-Men to desert that it seems 4 were Shot at a time for attempting to do it. But the last Blow was given to the Success of the Expedition in a very Extraordinary way by the Commodore. When your Committee calls to mind the Great Zeal with which the Commodore Promised the Committee of Conference with the General to give all the assistance in his power to the Enterprise then proposed, and said that he would answer for it the place Should have no Relief by Sea (which was the greatest Encouragment this Government had to Engage in it, and without which, indeed, it never would have engaged in it), they cannot Sufficiently Express their Surprize at the different Conduct which he shewed during the Expedition. The moment he had discovered the Carolina Regiment had taken Post upon Point Quartell, he Sends ashore a Resolution of a Council of War held on board him the day before, 5th June, by the Commanders of his Majesty's Ships then Present, signifying that, upon having Examined their Pilots, it was their opinion that they could not stay longer than the 5th July, without the utmost hazard of his Majesty's Ships going on shore; and that the question having been put what further Service they could do towards the Reduction of St. Augustine, it was agreed that If the General besieged that Fortress, and would spare 200 men at Least of his own Regiment, they would Land 200 men to attack and take Possession of Eustatia, in order to Cut of Communication by sea, which would answer the End of the ships, 'till the Season of the Year would admit of their Returning. It appears very odd to your Committee that the Commodore, who knew so well the Nature of this Expedition, should not only talk of a Siege, but attempt so early

to draw the General off from the Main. Your Committee are sensible that the Commodore told the Committee of Conference that he apprehended it not Safe for the Ships to lie upon the Coast in July. Yet he was assured that the last Hurricane, which we had on the 2nd August, 1728 was so early that it was Counted very Extraordinary in Point of time. But, however, it seems, upon Examination of the Pilots, it was thought his Majesty's Ships would run the utmost hazard in staying longer than the 5th July. This early declaration proved afterwards an obstruction to the Surrender of St. Augustine when the General demanded it, for tho' two-thirds of the People were for it on Condition of being suffered to go to the Havanna: yet the Governour and Bishop, who had come at the knowledge of this prefixed time, stood out. The time of their staying here having been Limited to that day, it was Certainly to be Expected that the best use possible should have been made of the mean time to effect any service that presented, but after this, having Landed, the 12th June, 200 seamen from all the ships to share with the General in the Conquest of Anastatia, we find the Commodore always declaring himself ready to give any assistance, but never giving any at all. He promised, during his stay, to give all the assistance he could spare out of his Majesty's ships. A general attack at once on all sides upon the Town and Gallies having been proposed, is agreed on, and the General, in consequence of it, goes over to the Main with his Regiment, Colonel Vanderdussen renews the proposal of attacking the Gallies to the Sea Commanders ashore, and Capt. Tyrrel is pitched on to Command the attack. The Commodore, being acquainted with it, is Surprised that a thing of such Consequence should be agreed on without his knowledge, he agrees, however, again that it shall be put in Execution, and sends his own Lieutenant ashore to Command the attack. Difficulties are Started there, and Col. Vanderdussen must send an account to the Commodore of what Boats and Men he can assist the Enterprise with. This being done, he is afraid the affair is too hazardous, however leaves it to the Mature Deliberation of

the Gentlemen of the Sea and Land service on shore; they having had a Conference, agree that the Gallies shall be attacked, provided there is water Enough in the Swash opposite to the Castle for the Boats to pass, but at the very same time, on the 26th June, the Commodore, having called a Council of War aboard, Sends a Letter ashore, that it is Impracticable, without assigning any Reasons, and Immediately makes a signal to the Phœnix, which lay at Matansas, to leave the same and join him, altho' deserters from St. Augustine had given an account that some vessels were expected from the Havanna with Provisions, and tho' he had before sent the Province Schooner, which was bought by the Lieut. Governour, on purpose to lie at the Matansas, to leave the same and join him in over St. Augustine Bar to protect the Craft. The Swash is found to have water Enough for the Boats, the Colonel goes aboard the Commodore and acquaints him with it. Capt. Fanshaw at the same time relates that he had seen several vessels lying at the Musquitos. The Commodore, notwithstanding, tells Colonel Vanderdussen that he can give him no further assistance. The Colonel, representing the bad condition he should be Left in, proposes to him to Lighten one or both his Majesty's ships and send them over to Matan-as Bar to Secure that passage. The Commodore calling a Council, it is Resolved they shall be got in there if Possible. A Strong Easterly wind Rising, and the Ships having Slipped their Cables and put to Sea, Col. Vanderdussen, in their absence, proposed to the Commodore's Lieutenant left on Shore with the Crew, to attack the Gallies, who tells him his orders are to attempt nothing in his absence. On their Return, the Phœnix and Wolf are sent to Sound the Bar of the Matansas, and their Pilots Report, upon oath, that there is not water Enough there for the Sloops, that if they could go in, they could not Lye safe from a Hurricane, or fight more than one abreast, if attacked, which is Contradicted in every Particular by the Wolf's Lieutenant, that was Present at the Sounding. The Commodore, notwithstanding, writes the General and Col. Vanderdussen both, 'tis Impracticable

to get in those Sloops over the Bar of Matansas, the General thereupon, by the Colonel's desire, applied to the Commodore for the 200 Men there on Shore to be Left, with an officer of their own, on the Island, with the Carolina Regiment, till the Return of the Ships, in order to man one Battery on the South side of the Island, to guard the Passage within the Matansas, and desires, if that could not be done, that he would assist to Save the Artillery, without which it was Impossible to be carried off. The Commodore having held a Council of War thereupon, it is declared that the Leaving 200 men cannot be Complied with, and no answer is given whether any assistance shall be given to the getting off the Artillery. A Sloop and 3 Launches (as expected) got into Augustine with Provisions. The Seamen are all taken off the Island, on the 5th July, without embarking of the Artillery, tho' strongly Solicited to give their assistance to do it, and all the Men-of-War, except the two Ships on the Carolina Station, set sail the same day in very fine weather. Can anything in the world have Exceeded all this? Where are now the 200 men, which, by the first Council of War, being Landed on Anastatia, were to have answered the end of the Ships till their Return after the Hurricane Season? They have found out, it seems, at Last that they have not Provisions Enough, and that they have no Slops on board the fleet. How hath the Commodore Taken care that the place shall have no Relief by Sea, by ordering away the Phœnix from the Matansas 9 Days before the Short time Limited for his stay Expired, within which time Relief got in while the Province's Schooner, which was bought on purpose for that end, was lying, by his orders, within Augustine Bar, and Left to Shift for herself. Your Committee beg leave to observe as to the design formed to attack the Gallies, that it was in itself a Service of the highest Consequence to have been effected, that the Execution of it seems to have been very Rationally founded, that the Seamen on Shore (who were a Company of brave men) are said to have discovered the greatest Impatience, as well as all others to be Engaged in it, and that it had all the Probability of

Success which a thing of that nature could admit of. But tho' all others Seem to have approved of that Enterprise, the Commodore was afraid it was too Hazardous. Your Committee have pointed out what appears to them to be the Principal causes of the ill Success of the Expedition, and they apprehend it to be very Clear upon the whole, that Neither the General nor the Commodore have taken any proper or Vigorous Step towards the Reduction of St. Augustine, or done what they engaged to do, and therefore they are of opinion that this Government hath been greatly misled by both. Some Expeditions have failed for want of a good understanding between Different Commands, but in this nothing is to be heard of like it, and Particularly as to that of the Carolina Regiment, not only the most perfect obedience appears to have been paid by Col. Vanderdussen to all the General's orders, but a Constant forwardness in him to propose, assist, and do anything that tended to bring things to action; and the Failure of this Expedition is Somewhat the more Surprising, as the General had not only all but more than he asked to assist him therein, except the Rangers, which not being to be had in time, were omitted, as he himself proposed, and Indeed could not have been of any Additional Service, for it appears to your Committee, by the Examination of the Publick Treasurer and the Commissary General, that there have been employed in this Service, besides 2 Companies Raised (but not sent in time), 10 Companies, including officers and Doctors, 512—A Schooner to Lye at the Matansas, 54—Volunteers and their Negroes, 47—Craft, Viz: 3 Sloops, one of which attended the Men-of-War, 20—14 Schooners and Decked Boats (of which 3 to carry one of the General's Companies from Port Royal, each of which had at least 4 men with arms, and some had more), 56 . . . . 76 Swivel Guns (these did not all attend at once). The Expence of which, together with the other articles in the General's Estimate, and many others added to them afterwards, amounts to £63,295 : 13 : 2½ in Cash paid, besides the vaitie of the powder, Bullets, and many other Stores, taken out of the Public Magazine, and

by the Mearest Computation there was about 200 Indians present in the Expedition, of which most that were of any Consequence, particularly the Chicasaws, went at the Instance of the Lieut. Governour. On the other hand, indeed the General appears to have carried with him about 360 or 370 men of his own Regiment and about 90 men more, Highlanders, and Rangers hired, with a very small Quantity of Provisions and ammunition; for he Borrowed both of them from the Men-of-War, bought a Cargo of Provisions by chance, from a New Yorker that came to trade with the Forces before St. Augustine, and had not one Barrel of the 600 Barrels of powder which arrived at St. Simon's in the Store Ship from England, before he set out upon the Expedition, until 4 days before he left Anastatia Island. The General finding by Letters which he Received from Lieut. Governour Ball, in the close of the Expedition, that the management of it was not approved of by him, wrote Back a Long Letter, dated 19th July, in Vindication of it. Tho' your Committee can see nothing in it that appears to have any Force, yet, as the General says therein that he Believes it will clear up all objections concerning the same, they have thought themselves obliged, in Justice to him, to lay it candidly at Length before the House, to whose Consideration it is Submitted. In the close of that Letter the General says that, with Respect to the affair at Moosa, he Sends Depositions by which his Honour would find that the occasion of losing that party was the disobeying his orders. Two of those Depositions (as they are called) are Capt. Hugh McKay's and Lieut. Letogg's, who made their Escape out of that Fort, and are intended to prove that it was the General's orders that that party should not lodge in the Fort because it was demolished, but camp every night in the Thickets, and that Col. Palmer, notwithstanding, who had the Chief command, ordered them to Lodge within the Fort. Another is said to be one Sergeant Clark's, who Vouches for the Bravery of the Captain at the time of the attack upon that party. But as the papers called Depositions do not appear to your Committee, they are not laid

before the House. Your Committee think themselves obliged, in Justice to the memory of that Brave Man, now dead, to Vindicate him from a charge so dishonourable. Your Committee must remind that, on the 8th June, Col. Vanderdussen Received an Express from the General that he had sent a Party (which was that sent under Col. Palmer) to Retake possession of Fort Moosa; and it is observable that, after that party was cut off, the General in none of his Letters to the Lieut. Governour so much as hints at any disobedience of orders, until his Honour had, in a Letter to him, dated 28th June, set forth the Imprudence of sending that party there. The General in his Letter to the Lieut. Governour, the 16th June, (the very day after their being cut off), only says that Col. Palmer with that party being Left to alarm the Spaniards on the Land side, was surprised by them; and in his Letter, dated the 30th June, he says that he had recovered Moosa. It is certain that the General's orders to this party were to go to Moosa, that they were to alarm the Spaniards in St. Augustine as often as they could, and when they saw his signal upon Anastatia, they were to fire that night upon the Town. It appears also by the General's Letters to the Magistrates of Frederica, 30th June, that he sent them on purpose to Blockade the place, and it will be Readily seen by the Plan, before mentioned, that nothing of all this could be done anywhere else but at or in Sight of Moosa. At the same time it is as Certain that Col. Palmer had orders from the General to camp every night in the Woods, and we find that when the party got so far as Moosa, he gave notice of it to them all, but notwithstanding all the men, except the Rangers, entered and Camped within the Fort. The Command is Disputed, and Capt. McKay opens Col. Vanderdussen's Letter directed to the Commanding Officer at Fort Moosa, and answers as Such. Col. Palmer, having no Commission, is not obeyed by any one. But the Rangers whom only it Looks as if it was Intended that he should Command, always did encamp without. If the General Intended otherwise, then surely it was a great oversight to Invest him with a Bare Verbal

command, as if he did Intend it to be so. In that case he Certainly deceived the Colonel, because tho' he verbally ordered the said McKay to follow his directions, yet he might understand them to be given to him as Captain of the Highland Rangers (as he is Styled in the above papers, called Depositions), tho' not as any thing Else. This your Committee Remark because of all that they have Examined they could not find one that certainly knows in what Capacity he was. One said he was called Adjutant, another, Captain of Rangers, and another, Ensign of Foot, but all agree that he took upon him as much Command as any, tho' none knew who had the Chief command really. However the Colonel gives his advice, tells them that the Spaniards could from the Castle count their numbers almost to a Man, that the place would prove a grave to them, and takes uncommon Pains every morning early to put them at Least upon their guards and to stand to their arms. But all to no purpose. Your Committee will go so far as to Suppose that it was the true Intention of the General that the whole party, Horse and foot, should sleep every night in the thickets; Grant they had accordingly done so; could that have prevented the fate which they met with? Can it Possibly be Imagined that the Spaniards could be at the Least loss at any time on a narrow neck of Land where to find them? Had they not Indians to watch their motions and fix the very spot of Ground where they encamped? Did not the General himself help that Discovery by employing those Rangers to catch Horses for his own use at so much per head, and who had actually, with the Indians, drove up about 100? Was there any one step taken to support the party? If the General did not think it safe even to Reconnoitre St. Augustine with Less than both Regiments, how can it be conceived that he should think this handfull of Men sufficient to Blockade it, and that with 8 lbs. of Bread to each man? Whoever knew Col. Palmer knows that he was a man of great Courage, that he had rather too much fire, and when he offered to go in and Burn the Town of St. Augustine, the General termed it a hot-headed action

(tho' it appears, by the Examination of Mr. Jones, that the Colonel might have entered the town where he proposed to do it), yet when the General proposed to send him with that party, this hot-headed man told the General they were too few for the purpose. The General Replies that if he was unwilling, he would send one of his own officers. The Colonel scorned to have his courage called in question, and consents to go. But tells him he was going to Sacrifice those men. The General promised indeed thereupon to send assistance from Anastatia, but sends him none. The Colonel, however, defended the Fort, and that in so brave a Manner under the disadvantages of Men half asleep and undressed, attacked by greatly Superior numbers, that it is Evident if the General had not made Several Breaches in the Fort and demolished the Gate, he would have maintained his Post. Your Committee purposely avoid taking any particular Notice of many Imprudent steps of the General in the Expedition, some of which might have proved fatal to the Forces, as also of his hard usage of the Carolina Regiment, and ill Treatment of the Gentlemen Volunteers, and the Indians in many Instances, and shall leave all those things, together with many Instances which occur to the Narrative, to the private Sentiments of the House.

Your Committee have now gone through with the Enquiry which this House directed them to make into the Causes of the Disappointment of Success in the Expedition against St. Augustine; and Gen. Oglethorpe having had (as hath been observed allready) a greater assistance given him than he Required as necessary for making an Immediate attack upon that place, and no instance having been found wherein the Colonel, or any other officers of the Carolina Regiment, neglected or Refused to obey his orders, they do Unanimously agree with the Committee of his Majesty's Honourable Council (who joined with them in this Inquiry) that neither this Government nor the forces in the pay thereof have been in the last degree the Cause of the ill Success of the Expedition. Your Committee think it would be unpardonable in them, after all that hath been said, not to make

mention of those that appear to them to have merited any thing in this Expedition. And first, they cannot but in the most grateful manner take notice of Col. Vanderdussen, who appears to have acted in the new Raised Regiment in Several duties which the Nature of his Command did not oblige him to, who not only punctually obeyed the General in everything, but took uncommon pains to bring things to action, and made Several proposals for that purpose, as well as to Continue a Blockade, which the General calls handsome proposals, who when ordered by the General to carry off his Train and Transports from Anastatia with the least Loss he could prevent, and to Spoil rather than leave the Artillery, yet, consulting the Horour of his Country with good Conduct carried off all the Artillery, &c., which the General had declared Impossible to be done without the Commodore's assistance, and preserved the same, together with all his Men and all the Craft in the imminent Danger they were in at that time who having afterwards landed upon Point Guartell, protected a party of the General's men from the Spanish Gallies, and after they had Retreated from that Point having first, by the General's orders, burnt their provisions, &c., and sent and brought off several Warlike Stores which they had Left behind them happily compleated his Retreat. Your Committee must also acknowledge that there were many brave officers as well as men in the Regiment who appear to have discovered a great zeal for action. Capt. Warren, Capt. Townshend and Capt. Laws, The Captains of the Men-of-War, with the Seamen who were with the forces upon Anastatia, are all allowed to have been very zealous also, and wanted nothing more than to be at Liberty to attack the Gallies, but were always Restrained by Councils of War held on board the Commodore. The 3d July, when it was Resolved in a Council of War not to Leave the 200 Seamen on shore, as was desired, but to embark them the next day, the words are added to that Resolution, "and if his Majesty's Service Shall be thought to Suffer for want of the Seamen's being Left on Shore, it is the humble desire of every officer Present that a proper

Enquiry may be made where the fault lies, that the Person or Persons who have not done their Duty, or deceived others, may be punished according to their Demerits."

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,)

OFFICE SECRETARY OF STATE.)

I, James N. Lipscomb, Secretary of State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true Copy of the Report made by the Committee to the General Assembly or Parliament on the Oglethorpe Expedition, as Recorded in this Office in Volume 7, Council Journal, Upper House, Pages 421 to 485, Inclusive.

Witness my hand and the Great Seal of the State, at Columbia, S. C., this 21st Day of June, A. D. 1883, and in the one hundred and seventh year of American Independence.

[SEAL.] JAS. N. LIPSCOMB, *Secy. State.*

In further confirmation of the statements in foregoing Report, the following extracts are given from the *So. Ca. Gazette*, of that period, printed in Charleston:

*Letter from Frederica, Dec. 29, 1739. The Spaniards having invaded this Province and killed some of the inhabitants and also having fomented an insurrection of the negroes in Carolina who murdered several families there, Gen. Oglethorpe with a party Composed of Indians, Georgians and Regular Troops, on 8th Inst. passed the river St. John's which divides Florida from Georgia. The Spaniards abandoning the several posts they held on that river and the sea coasts near it, he made an inroad into the Spanish Florida, marched half way to Augustine. The Spanish horse with a body of Negroes and Indians advanced within 3 miles, as if they intended to attack our men, but the Gen. ordering the Chickasaw Indians to charge them and advancing himself with the whole body, the Spanish horse retired to Augustine, and the Indians and Negroes took shelter in a fort not far from it. The Indians pursued them 7 miles that night. The Gen. stay'd 3 days on the Spanish Main and the Indians annoyed the Spaniards, making inroads up to their forts, killing or taking all they could find in the open country. The Gen. and Party returned here on the 15th without the loss of one man.

*Charleston, Feb. 9—We hear from Savannah in Geo. that Gen. Oglethorpe has taken 2 forts from the Spaniards, one called Picolah he burnt, the other the Garrison called St. Francis de la Padra, the garrison consisted of 11 Spaniards and one Indian, who were made Prisoners.

PROCLAMATION BY GENL. OGLETHORPE, APL. 1, 1740.

First section empowers Col. Vanderdussen to hold courts martial. "And I do further declare that all negroes which have deserted from So. Ca. and which shall be taken in Florida during the said Expedition shall be delivered up to

*See page 144.

their respective owners on paying five pounds Sterling per head to the captors. If the officers of the Ships of war shall land men to assist the land forces, one moiety of all plunder taken in such service shall go to the officers and men in his Majesty's sea service. All plunder taken and accruing to officers and men in Land Service shall be divided among officers and men of the Land Service in the same manner and proportion as prizes are distributed among officers and men in his Majesty's Sea Service according to the rules of his Majesty's Navy. And whatever share of plunder shall come to me as Genl. and Commander of the Forces, I will apply the same totally towards the relief of such men as may happen to be maimed or wounded in said Expedition and towards assisting the widows and children of any of said forces that may be killed in service and for rewarding such as shall perform any distinguished brave action. No Indian enemy to be taken as a slave, for all Spanish and Indian prisoners belong to his Majesty and are to be treated as Prisoners and not as slaves."

By Vincent Pearse, Commander of his Majesty's ship Flamborough: "As I am willing to give all due encouragement to an undertaking so much for the service of his Majesty and the welfare and security of this Province, I will pay all seamen who have belonged to his Majesty's ships any wages due if they will return, &c., likewise if they will enlist in the land forces."

April 3, 1740.—Notwithstanding the great expences this country has been put to, for securing itself against the Spaniards, the General Assembly have empowered his Honour, the Lieut. Governour, to raise a Regiment of Foot and a Troop of Rangers to assist Gen. Oglethorpe in the siege of St. Augustine, in conjunction with several of his Majesty's ships of war—as also to provide sloops, boats, guns, ammunition, provisions for Indians, and all other necessaries for that undertaking. Alex. Vanderdussen Esq. is appointed Colonel of the said forces. We hear that a great number of gentlemen design to go as Volunteers and take a share

in the honour of that Expedition at their own expences, all showing the greatest alacrity for the service of his Majesty and the good of their country, so that from the union of strength by sea and by land, we have no reason to doubt of success to the undertaking. We hear, further, that Capt. Richard Wright, having offered himself to go as a Volunteer, has received a Commission to head all the Volunteers; and that Capt. Pearce, the Commodore here, hath sent the Spence, man-of-war, Capt. Laws, Commander, to Providence to convey over, Mortar pieces, Bomb Shells, &c.

Tuesday (24 April) being the day appointed for the review of the Regiment of this town, and the 2 troops of Horse Guards, they were reviewed before the Lieut. Governour, Gen. Oglethorpe, and all the Hon. Council, who were exceedingly delighted with their magnificent appearance and dexterity at exercise. On same day Gen. Oglethorpe sailed for Georgia, and was saluted by the guns from Granville and Broughton Bastions. * * * We hear the following gentlemen have received commissions as Captains in the Regiment of Foot:

Capt. Wm. Stobo.
Capt. Malachy Glaze.
Capt. Ephraim Mikell.

We hear that Capt. Jas. McPherson has received a commission appointing him to command the Troop of Rangers, and that his brother, William McPherson, is appointed Lieutenant of the same; also, that the Lieut. Governour hath granted a commission to Capt. John Bee, Jr., to command the 2d Company of Volunteers in the Expedition.

Uchee, Indian Town, April 11.—Gen. Oglethorpe arrived here late in the night (to meet a large party of the Chief warriours of the Cherokee Indians), and proceeds immediately for the Spanish frontiers, where several Nations of Indians are on their march to join him.

This is to give notice to all gentlemen who have subscribed their names to go as Volunteers in the Expedition

against St. Augustine, that they have liberty from the General to take any number of slaves capable of doing duty, with them, who are to be provided for by the Public, and in case any person shall lose their slaves in the Expedition, shall be paid 250£ for such slave killed.

And whereas the Lieut. Gov. has made provision for such Vols. as are willing to go, This is to give notice they are to embark from Charleston by 10th inst., and For further encouragement of any other gentlemen who are inclinable, the names of those already entered are as follows:

Richard Wright, Jona. Bryan, Robt. Wright, Jno. Mulbrain, Wm. Walters, Saml. Lavington, Thos. Wigg, Thos. Rivers, Isaac Nichols, Benj. Domming, Wm. Mervin, Willoughby West, Chas. Buttler, Stephen Nichols, David Jones, Thos. Buttler, Thos. Fitch, Benj. Fuller, Jos. Ladson, Jos. Bryan, Jos. Oswell, Jno. Bee, Jr., Robt. Yonge, Jos. Wilkinson, Elisha Buttler, Thos. Elliott, Thos Farr, Nat. Barnwell, Jno. Barnwell, Benj'n. Harvey, Isaac Child.

May 10.—By letters from Fort Frederick, Port Royal, we hear that Capt. Norbury is sailed with his Officers and part of his Company to join his Regt. at St. Simon Camp in Geo. to embark with the rest of the forces to attack St. Augustine.

June 7.—We hear from the Camp before St. Augustine, that Capt. Malachy Glaze, Capt. of one of the Companies of Vols. lately died there of the flux.

On 16 July, 1740, Lieut. Gov. Bull called together the Council and Commons House of Assembly to lay before them "information received of the proceedings of our Forces employed in the Expedition," that is of the failure of the Expedition, and the Assembly promised to provide anything that might be necessary for protection, &c.

[The following is the Appendix referred to in the foregoing Report. It does not however as here printed extend beyond No. 37. The remainder is not extant, or can not be found. See letter from the Office of the Secretary of State at the end of this Appendix.]

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—Extract of General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieut. Governour Bull, dated 26th September, 1739:

SIR: I have Just now Received orders from his Majesty, dated 15th June, to annoy the Subjects of Spain in the Best manner I am able. I have sent up an Officer into the Cherokee Nation to —— and to Raise a Number of Indians, as far as a Thousand, to March down into the Spanish Territories. I have also Sent Commissions into the Creek Nation, from whence I have received advice that there is 200 Men along, with whom is Tooanahowi, that are Marched against the Floridas. I have sent an Express to permit and order them to attack the Spaniards, and I believe they will Strike the first Blow. I hope the people of Carolina will give the Necessary assistance, that we may begin with the Siege of Augustine before more Troops arrive there from Cuba.

Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,
JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 2.—Extract of General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieut. Governour Bull, dated 6th October, 1739:

SIR: Captain Thompson is arrived safe, and on board him Capt. McKay, with Fresh advices from England. All is in action; I hope the Assembly will come into taking this favourable Opportunity of getting Rid of their Neighbours at St. Augustine. They shall have my utmost assistance.

Your most Obedient and Humble Servant,
JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 3.—Extract of General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieut. Governour Bull, dated 20th October, 1739:

SIR: I shall do the utmost in my power for taking Augustine before Succours come from Spain; if we do not attack, we shall be attacked. I hope for your Assistance with the Assembly, and should be glad to hear from you.

I am, Sir, your most Obedient Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 4.—The committee to whom the Report of the Committee appointed on his Honour the Lieut. Governour's Message relating to the Assisting General Oglethorpe in the Executing of his Majesty's Expected Orders to make Reprisals against the Spaniards by forming a Siege against St. Augustine, was Recommitted to Confer with a Committee of the Upper House:

Report: That your Committee concur with his Honour the Lieut. Governour's Sentiments that the Protection our Deserted Slaves have met with by the Spaniards at Augustine, has Encouraged many others to make the like attempts, and even to rise in Rebellion, and that the Demolition of that place would, in a very great Measure, tend to free us from the Like danger for the future, as well as from other Inconveniences which his Majesty's Subjects of this Province have been and are Exposed to from that Garrison.

Your Committee therefore recommend and agree that in Case General Oglethorpe shall think proper to form a Design of Besieging St. Augustine, and shall communicate his Scheme to the General Assembly of this Province, and shall make it appear that the same is probable of being Attended with Success of taking or Demolishing that Garrison, that then the Publick of this Province will engage to give General Oglethorpe the best Assistance they Reasonably can to put his Scheme in Execution. Your Committee also recommend that a Message may go to his Honour, the Lieut. Governour, to acquaint him with this Report, and to

desire his Honour to send a Copy thereof to General Oglethorpe by the first Opportunity.

No. 5.—The Lieut. Governour Bull's Letter to General Oglethorpe, Dated the 13th December, 1739:

SIR: As you was pleased to communicate to me your Intentions of going to Attack the Castle of St. Augustine, I laid that affair before the General Assembly, and desired they would consider what Assistance the Province could give to Such an Undertaking that was consistent with our own Safety, and herewith send you the Report of the Committee on that affair, agreed to by Both Houses.

I am, Sir, your most Obedient and most Humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

No. 7.—General Oglethorpe's Letter to the Lieut. Governour Bull:

FREDERICA, 23d January, 1739–40.

SIR: A Detachment of his Majesty's Troops under my command and a Party of Indians, on the 8th of this Month, attacked and took the Fort of Picolata, on the South Side of St. John's River or St. Mathews, without resistance, after which we began to attack the Fort St. Francis, on the North Side of the River, about 10 in the morning. The Spaniards defended themselves very vigorously till 5 in the Evening, when they surrendered Prisoners of war. I send you by Capt. Heron the Particulars, and am, Sir, your very Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

P. S.—These Forts command the Ferry over the River St. John's or St. Mathews, and the passage from Augustine to the Indian Nation and Gulf of Mexico.

No. 8.—Extract of General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieut. Governour Bull:

FREDERICA, 24th January, 1739-40.

SIR: I have since, in the Fort of St. Francis, taken several Prisoners, and by their Examinations find that the place has been greatly strengthened and a covered way having been made round the Fort, which they think will be soon finished. The longer we delay attacking them the Stronger they will be. I have held a Council of War, by whose advice I have made out the preparation Necessary, according to the present Circumstances. I send up Capt. Heron, who will wait upon you with this, and will also lay before the General Assembly the Assistance Necessary for bringing this Undertaking to a Happy Issue.

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 9.—General Oglethorpe's estimate of the Assistance Necessary from this Province towards the Siege of St. Augustine, parsuant to his Letter, dated 24th January, 1739-40:

The Estimate of the Assistance Accompanied the same, and consisted of one Regiment of foot of 600 men, 3 Troops of Rangers, 105 men, 800 Negroes for Pioneers, 160 white Men to guard and oversee them, 58 Men for Officers, &c., among the Indians, 6 Months' Provisions for all those and for 400 Men of his own Regiment, and 3 Months' Provisions for 2,000 Indians, as also one Gun, Hatchet, and Blanket, for each of them, besides those other Necessarys mentioned in his former Letter, dated 29th December, together with an (R.) account of the forces upon the Establishment at St. Augustine, which the General had from the Spanish prisoners taken at St. Francis, consisting of 924, besides the Town Militia, Indians, Negroes and Transports.

No. 10.—General Oglethorpe's account of the Forces at St. Augustine, according to the Information he had Received from the Prisoners he had taken.

No. 11.—Report of the Committee of Conference on the proposals of an Expedition to St. Augustine.

That General Oglethorpe's proposals of Assistance from this Government will amount to an expense of the Sum £200,392, which your Committee are of Opinion is an Expence too great for this Province to Bear.

But the Committee of this House Recommend that if General Oglethorpe will undertake the Expedition against St. Augustine, and will certify to the General Assembly of this Province that the same is probable of being attended with Success of taking that Garrison, with an assistance from this Government of an Expence of £120,000 to be Employed by this Government, That the Publick of this Province are willing to be at that Expence, and provide for the same.

No. 12.—Report of the Committee on ways and means for Raising of the sum of £120,000 towards assisting General Oglethorpe in an Expedition against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, who had it in charge, from this House to Consider and make a Calculation of what Number of Men, Quantity of Ammunition, &c., can be Raised for the said sum.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
One Regiment, to Consist of a Colonel, for one month's pay	150	...	...	...	...	...
A Lieut. Colonel, for a month's pay	100	...	...	...	...	...
A Major, for 1 month's pay	80	...	...	...	...	...
An Adjutant, for 1 month's pay	30	...	...	...	...	...
Two Surgeons, for 1 month's pay, £50 each	100	...	...	...	...	...
A Surgeon's mate, for 1 month's pay	25	...	...	...	...	...
A Regimental Commissary and two Clerks, to take care of the provisions, 1 month's pay	70	...	...	...	...	...
Their pay for 1 month is	555	...	...	...	...	...
Which, at 6 months at that Rate, amounts to the sum of				3,330	...	...
Eight Companys of Foot, consisting each of:						
A Captain, for one month's pay, at	50	...	...	...	...	...
A Lieutenant, for 1 month's pay, at	30	...	...	...	...	...
A Ensign, for 1 month's pay, at	25	...	...	...	...	...
2 Sergeants, at £15 each per month, is	30	...	...	...	...	...

2 Corporals, at £13 each per month, is.....	26	...	...	.....	...	...
1 Drum, for 1 month's pay.....	13	...	...	.....	...	...
52 private men, at £12 each man, their pay 1 month is.....	624	...	...	.....	...	...
60 men, their whole pay for 1 month is.....	798	...	...	.....	...	...
For 8 Companys for the same time at that Rate is.....	6384	...	..	.....	...	...
Which, for the whole for 6 months, is.....				38,304	...	...
One Troop of Horse, to Consist of:						
1 Captain, for 1 month's pay, at.....	60	...	...	.....	...	..
1 Lieutenant, for 1 month's pay, at.....	30	...	..	.....	..	.
1 Cornet, for 1 month's pay, at.....	25	..	...	.....	..	...
1 Quarter Master, for 1 month's pay, at.....	20	...	...	.....	..	...
1 Drum and 1 Trumpet, for 1 month's pay.....	16	...	...	.....	...	...
44 private Men, at £16 per month for each...	704	...	...	.....	..	...
Man and Horse:						
49 Men, their whole pay for 1 month is.....	855	...	...	.....	..	..
Which, for 6 months at that Rate, is.....				5,130	...	...
Pioneers, Viz:						
For 300 white men, if they are not to be had, then 400 slaves, their pay for 6 months....				24,000	...	...
Provisions for the Regiment and Pioneers, Viz:						
For 447 Bushels of Corn per month, for 6 months, 2682 bushels which, at 8s. per Bushel, is.....	1,072	16	...	.....	...	...
For 955 lbs. of rice per day, for 6 months, is 171,900 lbs., which, at 35s. per 100, is....	3,008	5	...	.....	...	...
For 955 lbs. of Beef, per day for 6 months, is 171,900 lbs., which, at £5 per 100, is.....	8,595	...	...	.....	...	..
For 753 Barrels to carry the corn and rice in, at 10 shillings per Barrel.....	376	10	...			
				13,052	11	...
Presents and Provisions for 1,000 Indians, Viz:						
For 1,000 Guns, at £5 apiece.....	5,000	...	.	.....	...	..
For 1,000 Hatchets, at 10 shillings.....	500	...	...	.....	...	...
For 1,000 Blankets, at 5s.....	2,500	...	...	.....	...	...
For 4,000 Bushels of Corn, for 4 months, at 8s. per Bushel.....	1,600	...	...	.....	...	...
For 571 Barrels, to carry the Corn in, at 10 shillings apiece.....	285	10	.	.....	..	.
				9,885	10	..

For Transports.						
Ammunition and Utensils for the Pioneers, Viz:						
For 20 Pettiaugars, at £90 per month, each, for 6 months	10,800	...	...	...	...	...
For 10,000 lbs. wt. of Gun Powder, at £40 per 100	4,000	...	...	...	...	...
For 20,000 lbs. wt. of Bullets, at £9 per 100	1,800	...	...	...	...	...
For 20,000 flints, at £5 per 1,000	50	...	...	...	...	...
For 500 Spades, Axes, Hoes or Bills	500	...	...	...	...	...
				17,150	...	...
For a Surgeon's Chest of Medicines	500	...	...	...	...	...
For Levy money for raising the Recruits	1,000	...	...	...	...	...
For Contingencys				1,500	...	...
12 Cannon, 18 pounders, with 1,800 Shot, Match and Utensils				7,647	19	...
Total				120,000	...	...

No. 13.—Letter from Lieutenant Governor Bull to General Oglethorpe:

The 10th day of February, 1739–40.

Sir: Inclose to you the Resolution of this Province for your perusal, and concurrence, provided you approve of them, and we shall expect, with impatience, your answer, and take our future Measures accordingly.

I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble Servant,

WILLIAM BULL.

No. 14.—Certain Articles proposed to be Stipulated with General Oglethorpe.

The Committee of Conference to consider of laying before his Honour, the Lieutenant Governour, what number of Men, Provisions, &c., can be furnished out of the Sum agreed on by both Houses, and under what Regulations they should be put.

Agree and Report.

1st. That the Plan of Assistance hereto annexed, is the Utmost Effort the Publick of this Province can make to

Assist General Oglethorpe in forming the Siege of St. Augustine, not exceeding the Term of Six Months.

It is therefore proposed by the Committee and recommended to his Honor, the Lieutenant Governor, to be Stipulated with General Oglethorpe.

2nd. That the Regiment of Foot, and Troop of Horse to be Supplied by this Government, shall be Deemed auxiliaries to General Oglethorpe, and a distinct Body of Troops belonging to this Government, which with the white or Negro Pioneers in the Pay of this Government, shall be Subject to the Orders of this Government.

3rd. That the Officers of the Regiment of Foot and Troop of Horse belonging to this Government, shall in all Councils of War have equal Votes with the officers of the same Title and Rank in General Oglethorpe's Regiment. But shall give Place and Precedence to General Oglethorpe's Officers of the same Rank.

4thly. That all offences committed by any of the Troops from this Government shall be finally determined and punished by the Officers of their own Regiment only.

5thly. That all Negroes employed or carried from the Province of South Carolina during the time of the Expedition, and until the return of the Troops, shall have liberty to pass and repass without interruption, or being Subject to forfeiture.

6thly. That the Plunder taken (except what is taken by the Indians) Shall be secured and distributed according to the Judgment of a Council of War, consisting as well of the Officers of the Troops raised by this Government, as of the officers belonging to General Oglethorpe's Regiment: But that the Negroes which have hitherto deserted from this Government, shall not be Deemed Plunder, but shall be returned to this Government; for which a Salvage Shall be allowed the Captors.

7thly. That as the Expense proposed to be Entered into by this Province, is limited to the Sum of £120,000, Current Money, and as it is not Certain whether the Men and Negroes can be raised at the Pay mentioned in the annexed

Schedule, it is to be understood and so agreed, that if the Men and Slaves cannot be procured at those Rates, that this Government shall not be under any obligations to raise the said Men at any other Rate or pay.

8thly. And as it will not be thought prudent to weaken this Province, by raising the whole number of white men in this Province, it is proposed that the greatest part thereof shall be raised in Virginia, or North Carolina, and that the levies be begun with all possible Expedition, after receiving a satisfactory answer from General Oglethorpe, and his Subscribing these Proposals, and transmitting them to his Honour, the Lieutenant Governor.

9th. That the Place of Rendezvous in Georgia for the Troops to be raised by this Government, be settled by his Honour, the Lieutenant Governor, and General Oglethorpe, so that the Troops may be immediately transported thither. And

10th. That General Oglethorpe do transmit to his Honour, the Lieutenant Governour, with his answer to these proposals the Number of Effective Men in the Town and Castle of St. Augustine, according to his best Information; and the state of that Garrison as to Provisions; and also the Number of Effectives he proposes to raise, to joyn with the Troops of this Province in the Undertaking.

No. 15.—General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieutenant Governor Bull:

FREDERICA, the 27th of February, 1739–40.

SIR: I received your Letter with the Papers inclosed, and if I Can Settle things here so that the Frontiers may not suffer by my absence, I will come up to Charles Town, and consult with you and the General Assembly, if not, I shall write more fully.

I am, Sir, your most humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 16.—General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieutenant Governor Bull:

CHARLES TOWN, 26th March, 1740.

SIR: I received the Pleasure of yours, with the General Assembly's Plan, proposing the assistance of £120,000 towards the Siege of St. Augustine, &c.

I desire that you would acquaint the Assembly that I am Come to Consult Measures with them for bringing that Enterprise to a happy Conclusion, with the smallest Expence of Men and Money, for which purpose it will be best immediately, with what Men can be had, to make a Sudden Attempt, which may be done with an Expence of only part of the Sum intended, and the greatest part reserved for the Supporting the same, and if success meets the first attempt, the reserved Sum might be entirely Saved. If this attempt cannot be immediately made, the only other measure will be, the giving me at present Such part of that assistance proposed, as may keep the War on the other Side of St. John's or St. Matthew's River until the fall, during which time Preparations may be made for the Siege, at an Expence within the Sum Voted by the Assembly. In case neither of these Assistances can be given, I shall be obliged to Draw in the Troops from the advanced Posts, and bring the Regiment together for making a Vigorous Defence in one Place. If I am put under this Necessity, I shall lose the advantage already gained by the taking of St Francis, which hath cut off the Communication of Augustine with the Apalachee, and an Hundred Men of their Garrison now at St. Mark's, and the Spaniards will again be Masters of the River St. John's or St. Mathew's, the Path to the Creek Nation, and the French, and of Molesting us from all parts.

My Speedy return is absolutely necessary, to meet the Indians, who I expect are upon the way, and some perhaps arrived on the Southern Frontiers, and to prevent any accidents happening By the Troops being dispersed, in occupying those Posts Necessary for the Siege, which I cannot justify leaving dispersed if the Design of the Siege is laid aside, I should therefore desire a Speedy answer.

I am obliged to Conclude, this Letter growing tedious, if therefore it is necessary farther to explain the Methods to be taken, I am ready to do it by a Conference with the Committees of the General Assembly, if they desire it, and am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 17.—General Oglethorpe's Plan of assistance for a Sudden Attempt upon St. Augustine:

THE 29TH MARCH, 1740.

General Oglethorpe's Estimate, of what Number of Men, Ammunition, Utensils, and Provisions, to be provided out of the Sum of £120,000 voted for the assisting in the Siege of St. Augustine, will be necessary for the immediate attacking of that Place (that is to say):

Four hundred men, being the Regiment of Foot mentioned in the Calculation, to be engaged for three Months more, in the whole not Exceeding Six Months: out of which two hundred, if so many can be raised, to be embarked immediately at Charles Town, One hundred to be raised in Georgia: and hundred in the Southern Parts of Carolina.

Provisions for the said number, for five hundred Indians for four months, Sixty-one Thousand Pounds weight of Beef at the pound per Diem each, Five hundred Bushels of Pease, Forty-Eight Thousand pounds weight of Rice, instead of Corn, the Indians having no women with them to Parch or pound their Corn.

Five Hundred Guns, Five hundred Hatchets, Five hundred Blankets, Paint.

Sloops or Deck'd Boats for Embarking the two hundred Men at Charles Town, Pettyauguas for Carrying down the two hundred Men raised at the Southward and at Port Royal, Pettyauguas for Carrying down Provisions, &c., for the Indians and fifty men of the Company at Port Royal.

Fifty Barrels of Powder, of an hundred weight each, Two Thousand pounds weight of Bullets, Twenty Thousand Flints.

Two hundred Spades, Axes, Hoes, or Bills, Surgeon's Chests and Medicines, Two hundred and fifty Pounds; Linnen for Bandages, &c., forty pounds; For Contingencies Three thousand Eight hundred and twenty-four pounds.

Eight Six pounders and Carriages, Two small Brass Field Pieces from Port Royal, the Mortar Piece and Bombs, Cohorns, and shells as many as can be, Two hundred Rounds for the Cannon, Mortar piece and Cohorns, Twenty pair of light Cart wheels, Six Reams of Cartridge Paper for the Cannon, a Troop of Rangers or Cattle Hunters, if they can be got time enough. If these Preparations cannot be had within fourteen days, so as to Set out from Charles Town within that time, the Enterprize will hardly succeed, and the Provisions of the Indians Should be immediately sent down, Since the disappointing of them will be Exceeding Dangerous. If we immediately take the Town, and the Castle Capitulates, no further Expense will be necessary, and there will be a saving of near half the Expence first proposed by the Calculation. But if the Castle should make a Resistance beyond Expectation, then the Battering Cannon, Pioneers, Provisions for them, Presents and Provisions for five hundred more Indians, Powder and Bullets, Utensils for the Pioneers, in the whole not exceeding the one hundred and Twenty thousand pounds, Should be ordered so as the Preparations may be at Augustine, in the beginning of October, to open Trenches and force the Place by a Siege.

No. 18.—General Oglethorpe's Letter to Lieutenant Governor Bull:

CHARLES TOWN, 29th of March, 1740.

SIR: You having desired an Estimate for the Assembly of what number of Men, &c., will be necessary for making the Sudden attempt on Augustine, mentioned as the first method in my Letter, I have sent you the Estimate Inclosed; which though it is not as large as I think would be proper,

yet as it is all that can be done, I will undertake the attempt with it.

I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

P. S.—Having Consulted with Capt. Pierce, he assures me, that if we are ready to move in fourteen days, he will assist the Undertaking with his Majesty's ships to the utmost: he desired an immediate answer, that he might send to Lieut. Yelverton Peyton to joyn him, with his forty Gun-ship now in Virginia.

No. 19.—Report of the Committee appointed to Confer with General Oglethorpe:

THE 29TH OF MARCH, 1740.

The Committee of Conference appointed to Consult with General Oglethorpe. Report and Agree:

1st. That four hundred men with officers, to be Commissioned by this Government, be raised, the Men to have £12 per month, and the Officers at the same pay as formerly agreed, to be Continued for four Months, with Provisions.

2dly. That Provisions for Indians, not exceeding five hundred in Number, be provided for four Months, in case so many Indians shall be employed in this Service.

3dly. That there be provided sixty one thousand Pounds weight of Beef and Pork, five hundred Bushels of Corn, Five hundred Hatchets, Five hundred Blankets, and a Quantity of paint for the Indians, in case so many shall be employed, Sloops or Deck'd Boats for Transporting the men raised in South Carolina and Georgia, and for Transporting the Provisions, five thousand pounds weight of Powder, Ten thousand pounds weight of Bullets, Twenty Thousand Flints, Two hundred Spades, Axes, Hoes or Bills, Surgeon's Chests and Medicines, Linnen for Bandages Forty pounds, Contingencies Three thousand Eight hundred and twenty-four pounds, Eight Six pound Cannons with Carriages, two

Small Brass Cannon from Port Royal, the Mortar Piece, Bombs, Cohorns and shells as many as can be, two hundred Rounds for the Cannon, Mortar Piece and Cohorns, Twenty pair of light Cart Wheels, Six Reams of Cartridge Paper, a Troop of forty Rangers.

4thly. That at the end of four Months, or at the end of the Service, if Sooner, the men raised in this Province be brought back at the Expense of this Province.

5thly. That the money for defraying this Expense be borrowed at Eight per Cent., to be repaid by a Tax of Five Shillings per head on all negros, and five Shillings per hundred Acres on Land for four Years.

6thly. That a Bill be brought in for this purpose.

No. 20.—Voucher for Captain Tyrrel's being put under the Command of the Commodore.

The Lieutenant Governor gave his word to the Committee for this, the Original Orders being mislaid.

No 21.—Lieutenant Governor Bull's Sixth Instruction to Colonel Vanderdussen:

When you shall arrive with the Forces of this Government under your Command at the place of general Rendezvous, where General Oglethorpe will be present, and who will Undertake the Conduct of this Expedition, you are then to proceed according to his directions during the time of action. WILLIAM BULL.

No. 22.—General Oglethorpe's Journal of his first Proceedings from the ninth to the 22d of May in Florida, sent to Lieutenant Governor Bull the 24th of May, 1740:

FORT ST. GEORGE, AT THE MOUTH OF
ST. JOHN'S OR ST. MATHEWS, 14th of May, 1740.

On the ninth General Oglethope passed into Florida. Campt upon the Spanish side of the River St. John's, and then sent the Indians to reconnoitre the Country. They

brought in a Negro Prisoner, which they *had taken* near Fort St. Diego, as also letters from St. Augustine. Two Sloops arrived with his stores and some of his Regiment from Frederica, and four Schooners with stores from Charles Town, and Captain Lieutenant Maxwell, and Ensign Blamyer, with a Detachment of the Carolina Regiment. On the Tenth, in the Morning, he marched for Fort St. Diego, and encamped that night at Lacanela, half way to Augustine, where he was obliged to leave his cannon, the Sands being deep, and having no horses to draw them, the men could not carry them further; he then sent Captain Lieutenant Maxwell, with a party of the regular Troops, and of the Carolina Regiment, and Captain Brown, with a Party of Cherokee Indians, to Invest the Fort; and they arrived before it about the middle of the night. They approached as near as they could, and on the Eleventh burnt the House nearest to it. About Day break they attacked it with great Bravery, but the Ground being all clear for five hundred yards round, the Spaniards fired very strongly upon them, so that they were obliged to retire. The General came up with the whole Body about ten in the morning, and sent out the Indians to hunt up the Spanish Horses and Cattle. He rode round with a very few in Company to view the works, and on the farther side of the Place Discovered four Spanish Horsemen: he ordered two men to charge them, who wounded one and took his Horse, and the rest ran away. The Spaniards continued firing, and the General surrounded the Place with guards and Sentries. On the Twelfth, in the morning, he sent one of the Spanish Prisoners with a Drum to Summons the Garrison, who acquainted them with the Kind Treatment he had received, upon which they offered to treat. Then the General spoke to the Troops of both Regiments, who were drawn up in Line of Battle, and the Indians, and asked them, if they were willing to give up their claim of Plunder, and to admit the Spaniards to Capitulation: they with one voice agreed to a Capitulation, the articles of which were as follows:

1st. That the Garrison should Surrender Prisoners of war and deliver up the Fort with the Cannon and stores to the King of Great Britain.

2dly. That they should have liberty to keep their Baggage and not to be plundered.

3dly. That Seignior Diego Spinosa, to whom this Fort belongs, being built at his Charge and on his Lands, should hold his Slaves, Lands and such other Effects as were not already plundered in the Field.

4thly. That all Deserters and Negro Runaways from Carolina, Should not have the Benefit of this Capitulation, but be Surrendered to Discretion.

The Garrison marched out, and Lieutenant Dunbar, Ensigns Sutherland and Hogan, of the General's Regiment, and Lieutenant *Saussure, of the Carolina Regiment, with a Party from both, took possession of the Fort and the nine Swivel Guns, two large Carriage Guns, Some Powder, Bullet and Seventy Small arms, the latter of which were given to the Indians. The Capitulation was Strictly kept. As soon as the Gate was taken possession of, an alarm came, that Succours were come by water, and the Horse by Land, to relieve the Garrison, on which the General marched immediately to meet them The Indians discovered some Horsemen, who immediately ran away, and the General marching to the Landing Place, which was three miles from the Fort, found two large Launches that rowed with twenty Oars each, but the men had forsook them, and the Guns were Gone. The Indians followed them upon their track, but they got into such thickety Ground that they could not overtake them. The Indians took the three Horses, and one of the men that escaped from the General, and between forty and fifty Horses and Mares in the Country; and they and all the troops live plentifully upon fat Beef. The Land is mostly fine Savannas, with fresh water Ponds. There was very fine wheat growing in Diego Spinosa's farm, and some vines, and a Plantation and a good House, belonging to Don Pedro, about a mile from it, and several other Houses and Stocks of Cattle about the Country.

*This name should no doubt be DeSaussure.

This Fort is within four hours' march of Augustine. After the taking of Fort St. Diego, General Oglethorpe marked out an additional Intrenchment to be made there, left Lieutenant Dunbar with a Garrison of Fifty men, and returned to the River St. Mathews with a few Horse, leaving the rest of the Detachment to march at Leasure, who guarded down fifty Prisoners. He went over to St. George's the thirteenth at night, where Major Cook, Captain Heron, Captain McKay, and Captain Desbrisay were arrived with part of the Regiment, and also some of the Carolina Regiment. On the fifteenth he passed the River with the whole corps, baggage and artillery, and ordered the Camp to be marked out at the mouth of the River St. Mathews, in Florida. In the Evening he marched with the Highland Company of Foot and a Party of the Regiment under the Command of Captain McKay, Lieutenant Deligal and Ensign McKay, as a Convoy, with Provisions, to Fort Diego. The enemy Indians from a wood, near the Fort, fired upon and killed a servant who was leading the General's Horse, and cut off his head. The General with the Highlanders and Troops entered the woods on Foot and pursued the Indians so hard, that they forced them to drop the head; and followed them to the Fort of Moosa, within six miles of Augustine and Eighteen miles from St. Diego. There appeared two Spanish Launches on the River, and a body of Horse and Foot, but they retired as soon as the English came within two miles of them. The Rangers pursued and took thirty Horses, and took possession of several Spanish Houses, which the General preserved from Burning, some of them being very spacious and good Buildings, fit for Quarters for the sick, &c. One of the General's Horses was Killed and his Cloak shot through in Several places. They all returned to Fort St. Diego the same night, having marched Thirty-Six Miles that Day. On the Eighteenth the General returned to the Camp at the River St. Mathews. The same day Commodore Pearce, in His Majesty's Ship, the Flamborough, and Captain Fanshaw, in his Majesty's Ship, the Phenix, came to an anchor near the Bar to confer with the General.

The Commodore had left Sir Yelverton Peyton in his Majesty's Ship, the Hector, and Captain Warren, in his Majesty's Ship, the Squirrel, to block up the Bar of Augustine. On the nineteenth, in the morning, the General went on Board the Commodore, and they returned together on Shore. About midnight three Indians came to him with advices, "That they saw firing from the woods near Fort Diego, and firing from the Fort, that the Place being attacked by the Spaniards they would not venture near, but came to give Notice." The General immediately ordered a Detachment to march under Captain Heron, and the Troops to get ready for marching the next Morning, each Man to carry six days' Provisions. On the twentieth he followed with Colonel Cook, Captains Norbury and Desbrisay, Lieutenant Demare, Ensigns McKay, Tolson, Mace Sutherland and Stewart, Sergeants, Corporals, Drums, and One hundred and Eighty private Men of the regular Troops, the whole Company of Highland Foot, under the Command of Captain McIntosh, and Ensign Charles Mackay, Colonel Vanderdussen, Lieutenant-Colonel Lejeau, Major Colleton, Captain Lafitte, Captain Mikell, Captain Lieutenant Maxwell, Lieutenants Izard, Cadogan, Jennelack and Parmenton, and Ensigns Gough, Blamyer, Dansey and Ladson, with a detachment of Two hundred and fifty private Men of the Carolina Regiment. They did not get out 'till Ten in the Morning, when it was already grown hot, by reason of the delay in getting out the Provisions. They marched to Lacanela, where the regular Troops and the Carolina Regiment halted, 'till Sunset, being excessively fatigued with the heat of the day; but the General with the Highland Company marched on, and overtook Captain Heron, and before Sunset arrived within Sight of Fort Diego, and sent a Detachment to see how all things stood. They returned, All well, and that it was a false alarm occasioned by the Garrison and the Indians who were in the woods firing their arms to Clean them after the Rain, which the Hunters returning mistook. The General marked out a Camp, and

on the twenty-second, at Night, returned hither to carry up the rest of the Troops to Fort Diego.

No. 23.—The Deposition of Thomas Wright, Esq., Commissary to the Carolina Forces.

South Carolina Com. Berks, ss.

Thomas Wright, Esq., employed as Commissary to the Carolina Forces in the late Expedition against St. Augustine, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, declared:

That when General Oglethorpe landed in Florida, on the 9th of May, 1740, he, this Deponent, was present, and that the number of his men, including the Independent Company of Highlanders, was about two hundred and twenty; the Number of the Carolina men about one hundred and twenty-five: and the Number of Indians about one hundred and three, of which nine only were Creeks, the rest Cherokees; and that there was then no other Field Officer of either Regiment on the Spot.

That the negro Prisoner which the Indians brought in to the General that day, gave an account that four Galleys were fitted and Manned at Augustine, for St. John's River.

That on the Tenth day of May, when the General marched from the Camp at St. John's for Fort Diego, he left only about twenty Invalids of his own Men, and twenty-five sick and ailing men of the Carolinas, to guard the Craft, which Consisted of two Sloops in his service and four Schooners in that of Carolina, on Board of which was all the Ammunition, Provisions, &c., and that the Orders were to March with Six days' Provisions.

That the day after the Genneral left St. John's, the Craft not thinking themselves safe where they lay, chiefly on account of the Spanish Galleys, run into the River, under Cover of St. George's Fort, and that there was only two four Pounders there, one of which had a nail or bit broke in the Touch-hole.

That about the Nineteenth day of May he was present in the General's Tent, where he heard the General tell Don Diego, "That he would do him as little Prejudice as possible, and agreed to pay him for all the Beefs that should be killed of his the same price as the King of Spain paid him, and that if he would go out with his People to hunt for Cattle, and Should drive up any belonging to him, in such case he Should have a certain Price for them also per head.

That there was a General Discontent in both Camps at St. John's, on account of a General Order which the General had given out. That no person, not even an Officer, should buy any Horses of the Indians, insomuch that they had not proper means of carrying their baggage.

That one day being with the General in his tent at St. John's, the General told him, "That he proposed to Send into St. Augustine two of the Spanish Prisoners taken at Fort Diego, with Letters to Encourage the Men of that Garrison to Desert, promising good usage, &c., and asked him, this Deponent, what he thought of it." That thereupon he told the General That he apprehended it would be of very ill Consequence, for that those Prisoners might let the Spaniards at Augustine into the knowledge of our real Strength and Numbers, and also our Situation, and the Posture and Condition every thing was in, which was such, that it was not proper for them to know it, or to that purpose, whereupon the General replied, That he was resolved to send the said Prisoners in, that if they did not return, there would be only Two men added to the Number of the Garrison: And that accordingly those Men were sent under a Guard for Fear of the Indians, to the best of his belief and knowledge, for he did not actually see them Set Off with these Letters, but that they never returned, so far as he could learn.

That of the Spanish Prisoners brought down from Fort Diego to St. John's, a part only were put aboard the Men-of-War, and several on Board the Carolina Craft, no way

secured, nor any Guard Placed over them; so that some of them made their Escape from on board the said Craft.

That about the twenty-third day of May he was present in the General's Tent, when a Soldier came and told the General that there were three Men of Captain Mikell's Company who were willing to enter in his Regiment; upon which the General Commended the Soldier, and ordered some Beer to be given him: That thereupon he, this Deponent, told the General, That if he encouraged such a Practice it would be a disadvantage to Carolina, from whence our men had come with a design to return home again; that the said Company was not Compleat, and that the drawing men out of one Regiment into the other, was no Augmentation of the Forces, upon which the General Expressed some Resentment.

That when the General moved his Camp from St. John's, about the 26th of May, he left only about forty or fifty men with Lieutenant Colonel Cook.

THOMAS WRIGHT.

Sworn before me this 25th of May, 1741.

HENRY GIBBES, *J. P.*

No. 24.—Extract of Mr. Gordon, Secretary, his Journal of the twentieth of May, 1740:

This morning at Two o'clock the General ordered to beat to arms; Col: Vanderdussen went to know the reason of it. The General told him he had received an account by which he was Informed that the Spaniards had Sallied out of Augustine, in order to attack Fort Diego, and that they had actually Invested the Place. The men were got under arms. At Ten o'clock A. M. marched out of the Camp two hundred and fifty men of our Regiment, two hundred and fifty of the General's Regiment, and one hundred Indians, to relieve Fort Diego.

Remains in our Camp Men, under the Command of Captain Stobo; and fifty in the General's, under the Command of Captain McKay.

No. 25.—Deposition of Col. Alexander Vanderdussen:

South Carolina, Com. Berks, ss.

Alexander Vanderdussen, Esq., (Colonel of the Forces in the Pay of this Province, which assisted General Oglethorpe in the late Expedition against St. Augustine), being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, declareth, in answer to the Respective Questions demanded of him by a Committee of both Houses of Assembly:

That every thing contained in the Extracts, taken by the said Committee out of a Journal of the said Expedition, kept by his Secretary, Mr. James Gordon, deceased, is true, with this Exception only, that he doth not know of his own knowledge, what is related to have been said by Lieutenant Barradel, in a Council of War, held on Board the Commodore, But he Remembers that Mr. Gordon told him upon Anastatia, that he heard that Related by one of the Captains of the men-of-war, present in the Council.

That the Copies of Letters and orders, annexed to the said Journal, are to the best of his knowledge and belief, Just and true Copies of the Originals, from and to whom they are said to be sent.

That it was agreed upon in Charles Town, between the General, the Commodore and himself, to Concert the Measures for carrying on the Enterprize, at St. George's; the Place fixed on for the General Rendezvous of the Forces. That on his arrival there he found the General Encamped on the Florida Side of St. John's River. But that he did not then call a Council of War, nor at any time after during the Expedition.

That the General told him the reason of his Landing at that Place was, in order to keep up a Communication with the Sea Forces.

That the march to relieve Fort Diego on an alarm that it was attacked, was so hard, that it being a very hot Day the men fainted for want of water, and dropped by the way: and that upon Enquiry, the next day, in particular, after two of the General's Men, he was told they died.

That Diego Spinosa, who was at Liberty, and taken by the General for a Guide to the army in that march, misled them by night Considerably out of their way.

That when the General went, with some Officers and Guards from Fort Diego, to reconnoitre the point of Augustine, One of the Highlanders on Foot, who dropped on the way by the Severity of the March, died, and that Lieutenant Colonel Cook and Captain Norbury, being both in years, were so faint with Excessive heat and want of water, that the General directed them to return back.

That when the General marched with the army from Fort Diego to Augustine, he told him, this Deponent, that it was in order to reconnoiter it: all the accounts yet given not being to be relied on; and ordered him to March with five Days' Provisions. That the General marched about three hundred men of his own, including the Highland Company and Rangers: And that a Spanish Negro Deserter, who was at Liberty, and Commonly called, by the General, Captain Jack, was Guide for the army.

That the Gun which was drawn on the March, was on account of the Badness of the Way, at last left behind in that Path.

That he believes the Town of Augustine might have been taken on the first appearance of the army, because Deserters from thence afterwards said, That the Governor had ordered the Inhabitants, in Case of an attack, to go into the Castle.

That before the General marched back to Fort Diego, he made two Breaches in Fort Moosa, took away the Gate, and burnt the house within.

That when he communicated to the General the opinion of his officers, upon the orders which he had received from him, to carry part of his Regiment over from Point Quartell to Anastatia, the General having Said, Then they refuse to obey Orders: he answered, No, Sir: That is only their Opinion; But if your Excellency Still orders me to do it, I will bring them over: upon which it was dropped.

That by Information of Deserters afterwards, when the General had demanded the Castle of St. Augustine from the

Governor, above two-thirds of the People were for Surrendering, upon Condition that they should be permitted to go to Havana, But that the Governor and Bishop, who had come at the knowledge of the time that the Men-of-War designed to Stay, would not come into it.

That the Governor of Augustine's answer, with respect to the Prisoners was, that he treated all with humanity, as he desired his People might be treated.

That the men-of-war having been obliged, by a Strong Easterly wind, to Slip their Cables and stand out to Sea, Sir Yelverton Peyton, in the Hector, did not return again as the rest did, but returned, as he, this Deponent, Supposes, Secretly to his Station at Virginia, tho' he left a Boat and Crew of hands on shore.

That when the General went over from Anastatia to the Main Land, he left with Lieutenant Colonel Cook, who had the Charge of the Artillery, only three or four Servants

That the Seamen who worked on Shore were paid by the General twelve pence Sterling per Diem, each, for their Assistance in Landing and mounting the Artillery, on Anastatia.

That the weather was very fair, when the men-of-war Set Sail, and left the Land Forces.

That he, this Deponent, saw the Letter which Captain Warren found on Board a Spanish Sloop, which he took before the said Expedition was undertaken, wherein the Governor of Augustine advised the Governor at Havannah, "That General Oglethorpe had taken Fort Pupa, and Fort Picolata, on St. John's River; that he therefore expected a Siege, and pressed for an immediate Supply of Provisions, Ammunition, &c., to enable him to maintain the Place.

That the distance of the nearest Battery upon Anastatia to St. Augustine Castle, was computed to be about a mile, and the distance of the farthest Battery, above a mile and a half; That upon the first Shell being thrown from Point Quartell (which fell, by Information of Deserters, near the Gate), the people retired without the Town, there being nothing on that side to keep them in; and that whenever a

Shell was thrown after, either from Point Quartell, or from Anastatia, a Bell was rung in Augustine, to give notice to the People to retire.

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

Sworn before me this 25th of June, 1741.
ALEXANDER CRAMAHE, *J. P.*

No. 26.—Extract of Lieutenant Colonel Lejeau's Journal of the 20th of May, 1740:

The Sun being about half an hour high, orders were given for marching again, as we did along the Sea Shore for about a mile: then struck up from the Sea, directly mounting over a high Ridge of Land, as there is all along the Coast: had some difficulty to get a four Pounder on Carriage Wheels, which was drawn by Twenty of the General's Soldiers. At this place our Regiment helped them over. It being but nine miles from hence to Fort Diego, by losing our way in the night, arrived there about one o'clock in the morning, and heartily tired: It being dark, and no Place appointed us, lay Down in the Place we halted, without any fire, on the Ground, and great dew.

No. 27.—Extract of Colonel Vanderdussen's Letter to Lieutenant Governor Bull:

CAMP AT ST. JOHN'S,
The twenty-seventh day of May, 1740.

The General, I, and Major Heron, went the next day (the twenty-first day of May) to reconnoitre the Point of the Bar. We went within a League of St. Augustine, and all our Guard were left upon the Road, which consisted of Indians and Scotts Highlanders. The Indians left us before we got half way: so that there were only we three that went on, and if the Spaniards had not behaved like what they are, they might have surprised us, we being within Sight of the Island of Anastatia. We returned after viewing the

Ground, very much fatigued, our Horses not being able to walk, and arrived at Fort Diego at two o'clock next morning.

ALEXANDER VANDERDUSSEN.

No. 28.—The Deposition of Lieutenant Bryan, of the Volunteers:

South Carolina, Com. Berks, ss.

Jonathan Bryan, late Lieutenant of the Company of Volunteers, which assisted General Oglethorpe in his Expedition against St. Augustine, being duly Sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, Saith:

That he landed on the Spanish Side of St. Juan's, about the twenty-second of May past, with about twelve of the Company of Volunteers, and from thence marched to Fort Diego, where the Chief part of the Forces then were, and Continued to give their assistance in any thing required or Commanded by the General, as long as he stayed upon the Spanish Main.

That the General going out from Fort Diego to reconnoiter with a large Detachment of his own Men, Seven of the Volunteers (of which this Deponent was one), and a party of Indians, having marched all Night, and just about Break of Day coming in Sight of five Houses scattered, in some of which smoke appeared within, about five or six miles of Augustine: he caused the whole Party to halt, at about a Quarter of a Mile's distance. Then ordered the Seven Volunteers to go up and attack those Houses, which they did, and having entered them, and brought out Prisoners two Negroes only (some others escaping for want of more assistance), the General then marching up with the whole Party, said to them, well, I see the Carolina men have Courage, but no Conduct, to which this Deponent replied, Sir, the Conduct is Yours! or to that Purpose. That those Negroes, by their own Confession, were both Carolina Negroes; the one having run away from Mrs. Parker, and the other being carried away by the Indians from Colonel Gibbes: And that the General claiming a

Property in them, the Volunteers offered either to pay him one-half of the Salvage, or to receive the same from him; but that he ordered them to take Charge of those Negroes, then marched back to Diego, having been about three days out upon this March, and the next day took them away, and never allowed anything for them. And that the General also took away Several Horses from the Volunteers, which they had taken to carry their Baggage; and that the General refused to Permit them to burn the Houses, aforesaid, saying they would Serve for the Inhabitants that he should bring there.

That whilst at Fort Diego, altho' Beefs were very plenty, it was with great difficulty the Volunteers could obtain any fresh Provisions, being generally left to Shift for themselves; tho' the General was frequently acquainted with it; and that he heard the General Say, Don Diego should be paid for all that was killed; and that the Said Diego was at Liberty, as much as any one in the Camp.

That when the army was marching to Augustine, he heard Colonel Palmer several times offer the General if he would let him have a Party of Carolina Men and Indians, he would go in and burn the Town; which the General refused, and often said, in this Deponent's hearing, that he would not by any means have the Town Burnt.

That just before day the Army halted at a dividing Path within two Miles of St. Augustine, after which they marched and took Possession of Fort Moosa, in Sight of St. Augustine, and which had been deserted.

That the Men in general discovered a desire to attack the Town. That about Eight o'clock that morning this Deponent, with three or four of the Rangers, went up near to the Town, and brought away three Horses, and that having perceived the Town was in a great tumult and Confusion, the Inhabitants Screeching and Crying; he, this Deponent, told the General thereof; and hearing him talk of withdrawing the Forces, he asked him if it would not be best to attack the Place then? That that was the time of doing, for that if he retreated, they would make preparations

against his return, to which the General replied, that if he attempted to Storm the Town, he should lose three hundred men.

That a great Rain falling that Day, some of the Volunteers (of which the Deponent was one) and officers of the Carolina Regiment betook themselves for shelter into a House in Fort Moosa, where were some of the General's officers and private men. That soon after he saw several of those Volunteers and Carolina officers go out again into the weather, and was told by Colonel Palmer, who was one of them, that the reason was because the General had severely reprimanded the Sentinel for letting them go in, Saying, that he Could not be guilty of a greater Crime. That the said House was big enough to have contained all the arms of the Forces, as well as a great Part of the People, notwithstanding which, all the Carolina Arms particularly were rendered unfit for action, had the Spaniards at that Juncture made any attack.

That the next day, the Forces marching back to Diego, after having made several Breaches in the Fort, took away the Gate and burnt the House (altho' this Deponent told the General it might Serve for a Hospital). He saw several of the General's men give out and drop upon the March, and that he heard the General give out a general Order to Shoot any Man that should lag behind. But that this Order was not put in Execution by the officers, as he Supposes, out of Compassion; for that they had come from Diego with only three days' Provisions, and were both very hungry and greatly fatigued with marching.

That a day or two after, all the Volunteers Except Colonel Barnwell, who acted as the General's Aid de Camp, and one William Steads, left Diego, and went to St. Juan's with a Resolution to Return home, being disgusted at the Treatment they had met with, and disappointed in their Expectations of Attacking the Town of St. Augustine; having met with nothing but perpetual Marches, and Scant allowance of Provisions, and that fetched Twenty-five Miles upon Men's Backs: But that he himself meeting with the

rest of the Company of Volunteers, just arrived at St. Juan's, Stayed with them.

That he was afterwards at Point Quartell, when those that escaped from the defeat of Moosa Came over there, and particularly remembers that Adjutant McKay had Scarce any Clothes on, and told him that he had lost his Commission, &c.

That afterwards he went over to Captain Wright, at Anastatia, with the rest of the Company of Volunteers, and joyned the Forces there. That the Volunteers, in General, discovered a great desire of having an Opportunity to come to Action. That they, with their Negroes, threw up one of the two Batteries on that Island: But that they were both thought of no Service against the Castle: The Inhabitants being seen going in and out of Town, driving their Cattle to and from feeding. That all things were carried on in a most dilatory Manner, to general dissatisfaction. Yet that they Stayed till the Men-of-War had determined to go away, and no prospect remained of attempting any thing further.

And this Deponent further saith, that William Gray, who headed the Chickasaw Indians, told him they had offered to go over from Anastatia, and burn the Town, if the General would permit them to do it. That those Indians were disgusted, because the General refused to accept the head of a Spanish Indian, which they had gone over and killed, and that the Cherokees also were disgusted at Diego, as Caser, one of their head Men, told him, because the General was angry with them for killing Cattle there to eat, and would not permit them to do it: And that the said Caser said it was a strange thing that they were permitted to kill the Spaniards, but not their Beef; and threatened to carry all his men home.

JONATHAN BRYAN.

Sworn to before me this 25th of March, 1741.

ALEX. CRAMPHE, *J. P.*

No. 29.—One of General Oglethorpe's Stipulations:

And I do further declare, that all Negroes which have Deserted from South Carolina, and which shall be taken in Florida during the said Expedition, shall be delivered up to their respective owners, on paying the Sum of five pounds Sterling per head to the Captors.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

No. 30.—Extract from Lieutenant Colonel Lejeau's Journal:

THE 30TH OF MAY, 1740.

In the night late, the General was returned much out of Order, he had been towards Augustine, to some out place, where he took two Negroes, who say they are in a Starving Condition at the Castle.

No. 31.—Extract of Mr. Gordon's Journal:

THE 30TH OF MAY, 1740.

At Eleven o'clock A. M., Colonel Vanderdussen gave orders that the Regiment should be under Arms at four, which they were accordingly, and reviewed by the General and Colonel Vanderdussen, and the field Return was three hundred and Seventy-Eight, besides Field officers, Volunteers, and Cadets.

No. 32.—Deposition of Thomas Jones:

SOUTH CAROLINA, COM. BERKS, ss.

Thomas Jones, being duly Sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and Saith: That he was hired by General Oglethorpe, to Serve in the late Expedition against St. Augustine, as Linguist to the Creeks and Euchee Indians, who joined the Forces on that occasion, and also to head them in all actions they should be Employed in, he being himself of Indian Extract.

That he, with a Party of Creek Indians, joyned the General at St. Juan's, who ordered him Constantly to keep

Scouting round the Country, to watch the Enemy's Motions, and to Endeavour to take some Prisoners; but positively enjoyned him not to permit the Indians to burn or destroy any Houses.

That he often told the General they would soon be tired with that way of Proceeding, for that they loved to go and do their Business at once, and return home again. To which the General replied, If they have a mind to go home, don't disturb them, let them go. That after about three weeks had been spent in ranging only forward and backward, many of the Creeks, being quite tired with constant fatigue day and night, and disheartened that there was not prospect of attacking Augustine, returned home.

That before and after the Army had marched within two miles of Augustine, Colonel Palmer said, he knew how to do it, and offered to go in with a Party of Men and burn the Town; but that he heard the General say it was too hot-headed a thing: and this Deponent Saith, that he knows himself that it was very easy to have been done, for that afterwards ranging by night, he took particular Notice of that Part of the Town where the Colonel proposed to enter.

That he was present often when the General talked with the Spanish Prisoners and Deserters; and observed that he pursued wholly their opinion and advice, more particularly Don Diego's: and that he heard the General's Secretary say Several times, after the Army marched back to Fort Diego, that Don Diego persuaded the General, if he took possession of Anastatia with his Forces, the Castle would Surrender.

That after the Carolina Regiment had marched from Fort Diego, to take possession of Point Quartell, the General, about the Eighth of June past, ordered him, this Deponent, with about thirty-five Indians, to Joyn the Highland Company, the Rangers, and a Sergeant, and twelve Soldiers, making all together about one hundred and thirty men: and to go with Colonel Palmer, to whom he said he had given the direction of the whole, to follow his Directions: and to be sure to keep the Indians always out Scouting. That the General added, he was going over with his men

to Anastatia: That when he made a signal from thence, this party was to Fire upon the Town by Night. That he heard Colonel Palmer tell the General, the Party was not enough: that he had too few men, upon which the General assured him, That he would send him more. And the next morning, just before the said Party Set off, he, this Deponent, heard Colonel Palmer again repeat the like to the General, adding these words: Sir, you are going to sacrifice those men! To which the General answered, That as soon as ever he had taken possession of the Island, he would send him more assistance. That on the tenth day of June, the Party arrived at Fort Moosa, in Sight of Augustine Castle. That all except the Rangers went inside that Fort, which had been dismantled, and encamped there. That Colonel Palmer disapproved of it, but that notwithstanding they all went to making Palmetto Huts. That many words on this account passed between Colonel Palmer, Capt. McIntosh and Capt. McKay, day after day afterwards: the Colonel on one side telling them that the Enemy, from the Castle, Could count their number almost to a man, and that they would have their Throats Cut, and they on the other side Declaring, That as they had encamped there, they would not move: if the Enemy came they must Fight. And this Deponent Saith, that he never could perceive that Colonel Palmer had any Commission, or that he was obeyed as having the Chief Command. On the Contrary, that those Captains, McIntosh and Capt. McKay, seemed to carry equal Command, did not observe his directions: and that he, this Deponent often heard them all three differ and dispute about it. That Colonel Palmer, every morning before break of Day, used to go into the Fort and endeavour to rouse the men up to stand to their Arms, but that they would still lie Sleeping, Officers and all: which occasioned a great deal of Difference between Colonel Palmer and them. That in the mean time the Rangers and Indians every day Scouted round about and drove up a great many Horses. That after the General's Colours were Seen upon Anastatia, the twelfth, as this Deponent remembers, that Night, according

to the General's Directions, the Rangers, Indians, and a few of the Highlanders, with Capt McKay, went out and fired into the Town. But that no men being sent over from Anastatia, Col. Palmer frequently complained, in this Deponent's hearing, That the General had left them for a Sacrifice.

That on the fifteenth, two hours before Day, Col. Palmer and almost all the Rangers got up as usual, and stood to their Arms. That the Colonel went into the Fort and roused the men there; but that most of them lied down again. That he, this Deponent, about an hour after, was talking with the Colonel in the Gateway, and hearing a Gun fired very near, betook themselves into the Fort, lest the Indians might leave the white men, and that Colonel Palmer betook himself to the Trenches, whom he never saw after. That he found the men in great hurry and Confusion, some dressed and some undressed. That he got all the Indians together in one Flanker, who fought till most of them were killed or taken. That he could not see one of the Soldiers. That he could not find Captain McIntosh, although he went into every one of the Flankers three times. That he found Capt. McKay in one of the Flankers, just got up in his Shirt, with a small sword and a musket, whom he advised to support the Gate with the Highlanders, but he did not do it. That the Enemy attacked in four Parties. That the Gate was defended a Quarter of an hour only by the two Flankers on either side, after which the Enemy Entered, sword in Hand, headed by an Officer, whom he, this Deponent, shot. That the Fort being soon full of men, about an hour before day, all that Could jumped over into the Ditch, and escaped by forcing their way thro' the Enemy that Surrounded the Fort. That he, this Deponent, having at last also jumped over, met with Colonel Palmer's two sons near the Ditch, with whom and Six Indians he cleared a way thro' the Enemy, opening a passage as they fired, and that Captain William Palmer, in particular, killed a Spanish Indian that was then going to knock down him, this Deponent. That they waded down the Creek which runs by

Moosa, about a mile and a half to the River opposite to Point Quartell, where they met with many others that escaped, amongst which was Captain McKay, and one Mr. Scroggs, another officer of the General's, both without Clothes, the former having a small Sword in his hand, and two or three scars in his body, which resembled the pricks of Palmetto Royal, and the latter having, as he thinks, a Gun and Pistol, said that he had thrown away his Clothes the better to Swim. That about an hour after day break, Lieutenant Cadogan, who by chance came down the River, took them all in, and landed them upon Point Quartell, where the Carolina Regiment was.

And this Deponent further Saith, That to the best of his belief and knowledge, about fifty whites and Indians of our party were killed, and upwards of twenty taken; and that he heard the General afterwards, at St. Juan's, read a Packet from the Governor of Augustine to that of St. Mark's, which had been delivered to him by four of the Creek Indians, taken at Moosa and Set at Liberty again by the Governor of Augustine to Carry the Said Packet, which said: "That "the number of men which attacked the party at Moosa "was five hundred and fifty chosen men, of which one "hundred and thirty-two (as this Deponent remembers) "were killed on the Spot, with the two Principal officers, "besides what came back into the Castle wounded." And this Deponent also Saith, that those Creeks told him, the Spaniards, after their victory at Moosa, cut off the heads and private parts of the Slain and carried them into Augustine in Triumph, and that they were most of them overheated with Liquor, which had been given them before, to animate them to the attack, which this Deponent believes to be true, for that when he went over from Anastatia with the General to bury the Dead, he found just by the Fort a Rum Keg, with Gun Powder in the bottom.

That all the Spanish Deserters and Prisoners (except those taken at Diego, which were sent aboard the Men-of War, were always at liberty in the Camp, and that as soon as the General had given leave to Don Diego to go into

Augustine, when he was in half a mile of it, under cover of the Bushes, immediately the Cannon of the Castle played directly on the General's men, and obliged them to retreat.

THOMAS JONES.

Sworn before me this 9th of April, 1741.

HENRY GIBBES, *J. P.*

No. 33.—Extract of Mr. Gordon's Journal, the thirty-first of May, 1740:

The General told Colonel Vanderdussen that the two Negroes he had taken informed him, That the Spaniards had placed their Indians and Negroes in ambuscade at some distance from Augustine: and that their Troops were to Sally out upon the first appearance of Our Army, and that he was to get his Regiment in readiness to march; upon which Colonel Vanderdussen ordered each Captain to give in an exact account of what number of men they had that were able to March, and that they should have them under Arms at four o'clock. The Return made was Three hundred and Seventy-Six, which, with the Volunteers and Cadets, amounted to about Four hundred men, and at Five they marched out of the Camp.

No. 34.—Extract of Lieutenant Colonel Lejeau's Journal, of the thirty-first of May, 1740:

After passing some Creeks and over some hard Marshes in several Places, in a Narrow Path full of Palmetto Roots, so Causeyed, by rough marching in the Night about one o'clock came over a fine run of water, where the Regiment halted in a Line fronting the Enemy; Out Guards being placed, the men lay on their arms all night. From Diego to this Place is about Twelve Miles.

No. 35.—Extract of Lieutenant Colonel Lejeau's Journal, of the first of June, 1740:

Rested 'till about four in the afternoon, marched from Thence, passed over some bad Runs and Pieces of Marsh,

had some trouble getting over the Gun, and about ten o'clock had a great Scene of Thunder, Lightning and Rain, and so dark could see nothing before us, and believe every one wet to the Skin, as well as our arms. After some time it became Clear again, and at last came to a House built of Palmetto, with several out Houses of the same work. Stayed about an hour wet as we were, the Moon rising, ordered to march again.

No. 36.—Deposition of Captain William Palmer:

South Carolina, Com. Berks, ss.

William Palmer being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, declared: That he was Employed in the late Expedition against St. Augustine, by General Oglethorpe, as Captain of a Small Troop of Rangers (Consisting of Ten Carolinians) to make Excursions with his Rangers wherever he thought proper, in order to search for Cow pens and drive up Cattle and Horses for his use. But not to destroy any Houses, if the People had quitted them, and that the General promised to allow him besides his Pay, forty pounds for every Horse, and Thirty pounds for every Mare, he should catch.

That Colonel William Palmer, his Father, attended the General in the Said Expedition as a Volunteer, which the General expressed a great desire of, as the Colonel had been at the head of an Expedition from Carolina, in the year 1727, against the Spanish Indians, was well acquainted with the parts adjacent to St. Augustine, the ways of the Indians, and Ranging in the Woods. But that he bore no Commission at all under the General.

That he, this Deponent, was ordered by the General, at Diego, to Joyn with his Rangers Captain McIntosh's independent Company, consisting of about Sixty Highlanders, in the General's Pay, a Corporal or Sergeant and twelve men of the General's Regiment, and about thirty Indians, Creeks and Euchees, making, in all, when Numbered, One hundred and thirty men, and to march from thence to the

Negro Fort, called Moosa, within two Miles from St. Augustine, from whence he was to make excursions.

That he happened to be by when the General told Colonel Palmer (who went with those Forces, and afterwards told this Deponent that they were by a Verbal order of the General, to be advised and directed by him) to alarm the Spaniards in Augustine as often as he could: And that he also afterwards heard Captain McKay and Captain McIntosh say they had the same orders in writing.

That the neck of Land leading to St. Augustine was so narrow that the Enemy's Motions could not be observed so well anywhere as at or in Sight of Moosa.

That when they arrived at Moosa, The Foot began to Camp within the Fort, the Gate of which having been before taken down, and Several Breaches made in the Wall by the General, Colonel Palmer disapproved very much thereof, Saying that he had much rather pitch anywhere without in open Ground, where he could fight his Enemy all round about, wherever he could find an advantage, which Captain McKay and Captain McIntosh not regarding, but building a Palmetto House for themselves, as most of the Men did, within the Fort, he himself pitched with the Rangers without. That he never heard either of them expressing any Uneasiness at being there, only that more Provisions were not sent to them. That he doth not know, nor believe, That the Colonel ever Stayed one hour at a time in the Fort ever after, whilst this Deponent was present. That the Colonel frequently gave the said Captains McKay and McIntosh advice, which they never took. Particularly, that they should all rise at four every morning, and Stand to their Arms, because the Indians are constantly used to make an Attack, just before Break of day. That he often went twice in a morning into the Fort, to rouse them up; but that it did not seem to be regarded by them. That he often fell into a passion with them on that account; Telling them that he valued his life no more than they did, but that they lay like dogs to have their Throats cut. That this Deponent often heard him wish himself away for that

he never saw such Men in his Life: that they did not regard his advice, and he had no Commission from the General to Shew.

That this Deponent never knew who had the Chief Command. That McKay and McIntosh Seemed to act alike in every thing. But that one Day a Letter coming from Colonel Vanderdussen, directed to the Commanding officer at Moosa, he saw Captain McKay break open the same.

That, pursuant to the General's Orders, with his own and the Georgia Rangers, Commanded by Captain McKay, he made Excursions every day, sometimes for fifteen Miles round, returning every night, but one, to Moosa, and drove up about thirty Horses. But that McKay himself never rode with him, but one day. That he also went out at Nights and alarmed the Spaniards in St. Augustine: the Colonel going himself One Night with him. But that the Highland Company never moved out all the time. That the Indians every day ranged for Horses for themselves, and drove up about Seventy Horses.

That on the fifteenth of June past, about four in the Morning, he, this Deponent, got up from the Spot, where himself, the Colonel, and the Rangers Slept, about twelve yards without the Ditch, being roused by the Colonel who went immediately into the Fort to rouse the men there, as usual. That he imagines by the Noise he heard the Colonel make, that they were most asleep. That a little after he had put on his Boots and Spurs, most of his own men being awake, he heard the Words, stand to your arms, within the Fort, for there is a Body of men coming: without hearing any more from either of the two advanced Sentinels, which were followed immediately by a Volley from both Parties. Upon which, as the Colonel had before directed to be done on Such an Occasion, he, with his Brother and one Charles Graves, betook themselves to the Ditch, because the Highlanders' Fire might Else endanger them as much as that of the Enemy. That a constant brisk Fire was preserved on both sides for some time: That in a very little time after he perceived the Enemy was within the Fort at Club work,

hacking and Slashing in a terrible manner, till one Thomas Jones jumped over the Wall into the Ditch, where this Deponent was, and said the Fort was taken, it was all over, all our people were killed, and above two hundred Spaniards within, and advised to make their escape immediately. Upon which he, with his Brother, and said Graves and Jones, made his way through the Enemy's Smoke (by the way Shooting an Indian, that was going to knock down Jones) to a Creek, through which he waded down (with some others that he found there, Escaped before him) to the River opposite to the Carolina Regiment's Camp on Point Quartell. That he there found also Captain Hugh McKay and Scroggs, at the River's Side; the former with a small Sword in his hand and the Latter, a Pistol: having nothing of any kind on, but his shirt. That Captain McKay had on only his Shirt, a pair of Linnen Drawers, and a pair of Stockings; That he had a small Scar across two fingers, a small prick in his Breech, and the Top of his yard, which he shewed, upon this deponent's perceiving a little blood through his Drawers, and that he supposes the same was occasioned by the prickly palmetto Royal, which lined the outside of the Ditch round the Fort, because the said McKay told him that he jumped over the wall. That whilst they waited by the River's side, having caused one to Swim over to Colonel Vanderdussen for a Craft to carry them over, Lieutenant Cadogan chanced to come down the River, who, upon their waving to him, came and took them all into his Boat, being 25 men, Whites and Indians, and landed them upon Point Quartell.

And this Deponent further sayeth, that when the General first marched towards Augustine, being within one mile and a half of it, he halted with the army at a dividing path. That thereupon Col. Palmer told the General, he knew the way to enter the Town, and offered, at the head of two hundred Carolina Men, To go in and burn the Town, but that the General said it was too hazardous! and that it was so long since he was there he had forgot the Situation of the Town. That a Negroe then present (who had deserted to

him from Augustine to Diego) gave another account which he must be right, (which Negro was at large, and stiled a Captain by him). That he knew what he had to do! That it was the Custom of Armies, always to show themselves to the Enemy first, and to make a feint. Accordingly, that the Army marched away to Moosa, a little behind them on one side, that the Indians who assisted in the Expedition told him, the said Deponent, that afterwards, when the General was upon the Island of Anastatia, they offered him to go over the River, and burn the Town; but that the General refused leave, saying, that the Houses would be useful to us.

WILLIAM PALMER.

Sworn before me this 19th of February, 1741.
HENRY GIBBES, *J. P.*

No. 37.—Deposition of William Steads:

SOUTH CAROLINA, COM. BERKS, ss.

William Steads, being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, sayeth that he went as a Volunteer in the late Expedition against St. Augustine. That he, this Deponent, used to ride out with Don Diego, who was at liberty, to hunt up Cattle. But that when a fresh Beef was killed, to this Deponent's knowledge, the Volunteers could get none, till all others were served.

That the General going out one day from Fort Diego, to reconnoitre with a large Detachment of his own Men, The Carolina Volunteers, and some Indians, and coming in sight of five Houses, about a quarter of a mile asunder from one another, he caused the whole Body to halt, then ordered the Volunteers, being then to the best of this Deponent's Remenberance, nine in Number, of which this Deponent was one, to go up and force their way into them, which they did, and having found only two Carolina Negroes in them, they brought and delivered them to the General, who kept them for his own use, refusing to allow

any thing for the Salvage, but as he heard blamed their rash Conduct. That when the General marched with the whole Army to Augustine, and came to a dividing path within two miles of it, where they halted, he heard Colonel Palmer offer him, with a quarter part of the men, to enter the Town and set it on fire, which the General refused; and that he heard several warm words also pass between them, because the General regarded more what a Spanish Negroe deserter, named Capt. Jack, told him (who served as a guide) than what he did. Upon which the Army marched to Fort Moosa, about a mile and a half from Augustine.

That whilst at Moosa, a violent shower of rain falling, and some of the Volunteers, together with some officers of the Carolina Reginent, having gone into the House in that Fort, the General having, in this Deponent's hearing, reprimanded the Sentinel at the Door, saying he deserved a thousand Lashes for letting them in, caused them all to turn out again, in that weather.

That after the Army returned to Diego, the Volunteers, disgusted by the usage before mentioned, and because they found themselves in General slighted, went away from thence, with a Resolution to return home.

That about the 8th of June past, the General ordered a party to march back again to Moosa, consisting of about fifty or sixty Highlanders, Commanded by Capt. McIntosh, 12 Soldiers and a Sergeant, 23 Rangers of Carolina and Georgia, commanded by Capt. Palmer, with Adjutant McKay and about thirty-five Indians, in all 132 men. That he, this Deponent, went with them as one of the Rangers. That Col. Palmer also went with them. That when they came to Moosa, the tenth, all but the Rangers entered and camped within. That Col. Palmer advised them to the contrary, telling them that——(Remainder lost.)

THE STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA.)

OFFICE SECRETARY OF STATE.)

I, Jas. N. Lipscomb, Secretary of State, do hereby certify that the foregoing is a true Copy of the Appendix to the Report of the Expedition to St. Augustine, as recorded in this office, in Volume 7, Council Journal, Upper House. Pages 485 to 518 inclusive.

Witness my hand and the Great Seal of the State at Columbia, South Carolina, this the 23d day of July, A. D. 1884, and in the one hundred and ninth year of American Independence.

[SEAL.] JAS. N. LIPSCOMB,
Secretary of State.

Letter from the Office of the Secretary of State.

On the inside of the cover of the Volume in which the Report and the Appendix of which the foregoing is a true copy, I find the following

"CHASM."

"No proceedings of the Upper House from 2d July, 1741, "to 28th October, 1741. (See pages 420 and 519.) A chasm "in the Deposition of Wm. Stead, p. 518.

"No proceedings of Upper House from January 18th, "1742, to May 18th, 1742. (See page 533 of this and page 1 "of the succeeding Volume."

This accounts for the remainder of the Appendix, which does not appear upon the Records of this Department. A careful examination of the preceding and succeeding Volumes of that period has developed that fact.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) A. C. JONES, C. C.,
Secretary of State.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SOUTH CAROLINA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY...

ON THEIR

TWENTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY,

MAY 19, 1876,

BY

WILLIAM J. RIVERS, ESQ.,

PRESIDENT OF WASHINGTON COLLEGE, CHESTERTOWN, MD., AND
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
THE NEWS AND COURIER JOB PRESSES.
1876.

SOUTH CAROLINA

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The meeting of the South Carolina Historical Society, held in Charleston, on Friday, May 19, 1876, was the first anniversary celebrated by the Society since the war.

The Hibernian Hall was filled with a large and brilliant audience. The officers of the Society and a large number of gentlemen occupied seats on the platform. The President of the Society, Prof. F. A. PORCHER, introduced Mr. RIVERS, with the following remarks:

Friends and Fellow-citizens: As this is the first appearance in public of the South Carolina Historical Society since the war, you will, I trust, indulge me for a brief space while I explain our position. The object of our organization, and eminently that of our revival, is to collect and preserve among ourselves the memorials, by means of which a true and faithful history of our State may be studied; and with this end in view, we appeal to your benevolence, your patriotism, and your public spirit. To say more on this topic now would be unbecoming.

In selecting a gentleman to represent us on this occasion, our eyes were turned spontaneously, almost instinctively, on one who had not only made his mark as an historian of South Carolina, but on whom we had peculiar claims as one of the founders of the Society. Twenty-one years ago,

this day, he and I, together with the late venerable Dr. MOULTRIE, were appointed to draft a plan of organization. To us were committed the working offices of the Society. I speak of myself because I am not willing to forego what little merit I deserve for the prosecution of the work, but I must honestly confess that it is to the zeal, the energy, and the intelligence of my friend that the Society owes its success. We worked well, but we had able associates, foremost among whom I must mention BART CARROLL and OGDEN HAMMOND, men who knew what to do and how to do it. Above all, we worked under a chief who possessed the entire confidence of the people, and whose approving well done was itself a reward. That chief was PETIGRU.

After the war, it seemed almost hopeless to attempt to organize. PETIGRU was gone. MOULTRIE was gone. CARROLL and HAMMOND were gone; and RIVERS was not here to help us. But we hoped that the people of South Carolina would cheer on those who should endeavor to revive the Society, and last Summer it was done. We then felt that the next best thing to having our old friend to work with us, would be to have him represent us before you on our anniversary. The call was made, and it was promptly answered. And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure of introducing to you Professor WILLIAM JAMES RIVERS.

Mr. RIVERS, after being enthusiastically greeted by the audience, delivered his address.

ADDRESS.

The honor had been assigned to me to deliver the last Anniversary Address before the Society; and I did so at a time when the reverberations of the guns in the opening bombardment of Fort Sumter had scarcely died away on the ruffled waters of our harbor. In appearing before you on this First Anniversary of your auspiciously re-organized Association, I cannot but bear in my thoughts the disastrous period which has intervened; its terrific conflicts, its victories, and defeats, its bereavements, and the bitterness of the oppressive changes which seem to have been designed for our humiliation. Perhaps it may not have been unanticipated that on an occasion like this our thoughts could not be altogether diverted from the historical significance of the eventful period through which we have passed. I would, however, willingly retire from the duty which your partiality has assigned me rather than dwell too minutely upon our afflicting experience, or recall to your recollection, in this hour of our re-union, any discouraging aspect of the realities which confront us on every side. Our endeavor should be to look above and beyond the ruins of our former prosperity. Let us remember that the shadows from a stormy sky flit from us when the changeful clouds are gone; and that the obscurity of night, even if there be no benignant glimmering of stars, fades away at last before the dawn;—and so our despondency and the gloom of a sorrowful discomfiture shall not rest forever upon us, but will decrease and disappear, as they are now decreasing and disappearing, in the faint dawning of a more cheering, a more hopeful day, though we may not call it yet all cloudless and serene.

It was the purport of my former address to trace the out-growth of the spirit and forms of republican government in our colonial history, detached from the history of other American settlements; inasmuch as our forefathers, taking up their abode on the margin of this vast Continent with impenetrable forests around them, stood separated by the breadth of the Atlantic from the mother country, and held but little intercourse with the more Northern colonies, being bound to them by no political alliance whatever. It was their hard fortune, too, to be removed by their charter from the immediate protection of the crown, and to look for help only to the feeble management of a Board of Proprietors, who lived in a different hemisphere, and who, destitute themselves of efficient resources, left their colonists, in their isolated position, to their own maintenance, and for the most part, to their own defence against oft recurring and imminent perils. Our early history shows that they manfully sustained themselves and learned, with energy and self-reliance, to work out their own social and political advancement. They had brought with them from their English homes the principles of civil liberty, evolved there by the arduous contests which terminated in the constitutional guarantees of 1688. They had brought with them a love of morality and religion, as is evinced by their early enactments against idleness, intemperance, and profanity, and for the proper observance of the Sabbath. They associated with themselves the zealous and thrifty Huguenots who, in considerable numbers, sought refuge here from religious persecution in their native land. They welcomed, from every quarter, accessions of physical strength, and all that might promote the virtue, intelligence, and industry of the community, and the liberal spirit of their political tendencies. Hence they soon became—not as a mere dependent portion of a larger nationality, a branch without life save by adhesion to the present stock—but rather as a vigorous shoot transplanted to a new soil, and acquiring thereby fresh powers of self-development. In other words, there was engendered in the new colony, as fully as in any

American colony, an augmented propulsion, as it were, in the direction of its own proclivities, which had been from the beginning, towards a democratic representative government in preference to the ancient, aristocratic, and monarchical forms of the old country.

The crowning characteristic of our people is found in their legislative and constitutional history. While the first emigrants were gathering together in England, the genius of her most renowned philosopher and the statesmanly experience of those who had decided the fate of the Commonwealth, were busy in framing, in time for the embarkation, a model of government designed in part to prevent in the new colony a preponderance of democratic power;—an event which they must have anticipated. Again and again, in five forms within less than thirty years, this cherished model was authoritatively presented for acceptance, and as often quietly laid aside by the people who rested on the grant contained in the charter that their concurrence should be necessary in the establishment of a form of government. Indeed, the people were, as by inheritance, capable of themselves to originate and enforce whatever enactments their own condition and welfare might demand. They had not brought with them, covertly in their hearts, a disposition to antagonism and revolution, a disposition to conspire against or thwart lawful authority—but only their inclination towards self-government emanating from habitual home influences, and from an enlightened knowledge of English rights and privileges, in the atmosphere of which they had had their being. Although incentives enough must have sprung up in the newness of their separate position on a strange continent, to lead such emigrants as they were to independence of thought and action, yet, in addition to this, the proprietors themselves—no doubt unintentionally—had prepared in their model of government the yeast of continued political study and agitation, and sent it along with the cargo of the first vessel that bore our ancestors to these shores. They were not left, after the settlement of the colony had been successfully effected, to the quiet pursuit of their mate-

rial interests; but for two generations were constantly urged by the persistent maladministration of those who held the charter of the Province, to the investigation and vindication of their rights.

During the one hundred years of our colonial history there is a continuous thread of discussion on legislative and constitutional topics, with successive triumphs in behalf of popular claims, leading through to the revolutions of 1719 and 1776. The gentlemen of the colony, being masters of a fertile soil, and controlling a system of labor that yielded abundant wealth, had leisure to devote themselves to the acquisition of mental accomplishments and the investigation of parliamentary history, and the science of government. Many of them, reared in the schools and colleges of England, with minds enriched by foreign travel, and with a courtly refinement of manners, returned home to the amenities of social intercourse and to the treasures of their well furnished libraries, rather than to the personal management of their extensive plantations. They were by education ever ready, with tongue or pen, to discourse elegantly and learnedly on subjects of statesmanship and the public interests. Their whole colonial history exemplifies their mental culture, exalted character, and thorough training, not only in the theory, but the practical working out of representative democracy. It is not therefore surprising that when Massachusetts, in 1765, sent forth the first call for a union of the colonies, the response that rendered such a union effectual, came from the Assembly of South Carolina; a union, to use the language of that day, to defend "their right of making their own laws and disposing of their own property by representatives of their own choosing." Nor is it surprising that ten years later, on the defection of the Royal government here, our fathers, notwithstanding their affection for their mother country, were the first in the Southern colonies, and, I believe, the first in all the colonies, to frame for themselves, as they did nearly a half-year before the Declaration of Independence, a constitutional government based on the authority of the people. This provisional

constitution was followed, when reconciliation with England appeared no longer possible, by the constitution of 1778, which was again modified in 1790, to conform to that of the new union; and finally reached its perfection as a frame of government by the established equilibrium of representation and power between the upper and lower sections of the State, about 1807, obliterating all possible occasion of discordance between varying interests, and dissimilar elements of population, and of taxable wealth, and combining every section in kindly regard for each other, and in patriotic unanimity of action.

Here our wisdom in self-government culminated. We were one people, one party. One spirit animated all. Every interest was harmoniously represented and protected. Justice, truth, and honor directed our public councils; peace and plenty smiled upon the land; virtue and refinement graced our happy homes. The perfection of our organic law elicited the admiration of our ablest statesman in his treatise "On the constitution and government of the United States;" and he concludes his encomium with the words, "may its success, as an example, lead to its imitation by others, until our whole system—the united government of all the States, as well as the individual governments of each—shall settle down in like concord and harmony."

The influence we had attained throughout the union, of which we formed a federal part, during fifty years and more under our perfected State constitution, would be sufficiently indicated by calling over the names of our governors, our representatives in congress, and the officers of the cabinet; and no less by a notice of the distinctions bestowed upon our people in other States. It may be granted me to allude, in this connection, to the four natives of South Carolina who were governors of Southern States, and others who represented Southern States in congress in the memorable year 1860, as an evidence of the influence we had acquired by the ability, incorruptible integrity, and masterly speeches and essays of our statesmen; and, we may say, by the skillful knowledge of our people generally in the administration

of public affairs—an ignorance of which on the part of any citizen, it was customary for us to attribute to inexcusable and culpable negligence—and having alluded to this, it may be permitted me to add that the faithful historian, a century hence, will no doubt decide that neither arrogant blindness nor a stubbon attachment to the institution of African slavery, but an hereditary appreciation of constitutional liberty as we deemed it most conducive to our welfare, led us to attempt in that memorable year to frame, in conjunction with other States, a new government in order to preserve our rights as a State from the control of inimical majorities and from the danger of an absorbing centralization in derogation of the original compact to which we had yielded our allegiance. We earnestly protest against the historical injustice of ascribing our action at that period to less elevated motives. Another remark must here have utterance: in 1669 an unsuitable constitution was framed for us without our co-operation or consent. Exactly two hundred years later, another constitution has been framed for us, in lieu of our own, by a convention which we did not call, and delegates whom we did not choose. The former excited no violent opposition, and in the course of time came to naught by its own incongruity. Time will disclose the fate of the latter, if any portion of it be inconsistent with the outgrowth and long established characteristics of our people.

But we must take notice, that while we had been thus pursuing conservatively for nearly two centuries our own constitutional and material development, till we had reached a remarkable prosperity in every respect, there had been another and a different kind of development in progress beyond our limits, threatening to turn its influences towards us, and to sap inevitably the foundation of our wealth, and injure, perhaps destroy, the efficiency of our successful State government. I allude not now to the policy of nationalism, but to the diffusion and active propagandism of a new spirit of philanthropy, originating in the mother country, mitigating the old rigor of penal laws and the severity of prison discipline; exciting compassion for crimi-

nals regardless of the danger of looking upon crime itself too leniently; embracing in its unrestricted benevolence all men everywhere as brothers, whose ills it had become a bounden duty to alleviate and redress; and abhorring the possible abuses of involuntary servitude, especially of the African race, till the bondman became to many tender hearts an object to be wept over, and whose liberation from servitude would hallow any means adopted for its attainment. The impetus of this spreading and accumulating flood of extravagant benevolence, reaching at times the verge of fanaticism, we in this little State desired to have turned away from us, because we foresaw its contrariety, in some respects, to our more conservative developments. But, as we should have known, we could neither arrest its billows nor avert for a single moment its impetuous course. Judging by our own integrity and honor, we believed that whatever moral or philanthropical revolution was occurring abroad or in the Northern States, it conferred no right on its advocates to interfere with our domestic institutions or subvert legal and constitutional obligations agreed upon and solemnly ratified. We believed there could be safety and protection for us under the ægis of the general government, till we discovered in that direction the astounding and inexorable principle of a higher law than the constitution. Then came the alternative to retire from the union, or surrender at dictation our system of labor and the rights we had inherited and knew to be founded on sacred compromises. It is passed now! The flood has gone over us and swept us down! But we may console ourselves with the thought that the force of every such moral flood bears it beyond the limits where it ought to stop; and that at least a partial reaction may soon be expected. For injuries have not come upon us alone. As in the crusades the wings of the church were made to overshadow a seemingly righteous cause, and the infection, as of religious fervor, seized upon whole communities including women and little children, impelling them blindly forward; so it was in the movement against slavery; not essential slavery, but against the form

of a legal ownership of slaves; and the onset came indiscriminately upon the good that existed among us as well as upon the evil; while the intensity of the hatred, fostered by misrepresentation and exaggeration, was entirely disproportionate to the evil that really existed. And as in the crusades, State intrigues extracted advantages from the wide-spread and intense popular fanaticism; so in the late movement foreign governments may have discerned industrial and commercial advantages for themselves in the diminution of the prosperity of the cotton States, in favor of their own cotton-growing Provinces and paid laborers; and monarchical advantages in crippling and depreciating the democratic institutions of the union. Indeed, it is time already that we should see the beginning of a re-action in our favor—in more than good-will, in more than renewed friendship, in more than a re-integration of the union—to which we bring again wealth and strength, and, I hesitate not to say, our political wisdom for its better conservation.

Looking back upon our whole past career as a colony and a State, I claim that South Carolina's ardent love of the liberty our Anglo-Saxon race have always prized, and for which she has imperiled her existence in more than one prolonged conflict within the past hundred years, challenges the respect of the Northern States, with whom she has, in this sacred cause, battled side by side, and alas! of late, with frowning brow, face to face! For her history at the period of the Revolution, South Carolina has received the plaudits of the whole country. For no part of her history at the period of Secession, will she condescend to plead against or deprecate the unworthy indignation of others, or deferentially bend before an assumed superiority in the cause of freedom. The claim of respect that she would urge for consistency in republican principles in recent times, may perhaps be established more directly than by the course which I shall adopt in this address; but it seems to me that at present such a claim may be allowed by our Northern brethren with less of restriction or hesitancy if, in the calm spirit of historic truth, it be shown that whatever political

errors we may have committed, errors no less grave in character have been committed against us; that ours has truly been a policy of conservation and self-defense, and not of violence and aggression.

The agitations on questions of tariff, free trade, and nullification have subsided as though they had been ephemeral in their nature. The activity of abolitionism, which used to enliven its energy by stimulating a hatred of us, is at last quiescent in the fruition of its long desired object. The contention for the supremacy of the general government has ended, if not in a total eclipse of State sovereignty with its right of secession, at least in the silence of its advocates and an acquiescence in the future unity of the Republic.

Prejudices born of ignorance, malevolence, and misrepresentation, are fading away in the kindly effulgence of returning friendship, and a more intimate knowledge of each other: and we may ask now, with the assurance of conscious rectitude, who has erred in judgment? Who has failed in patriotism? Who has understood the more clearly European machinations? Who has the better interpreted the constitution? Who has refused to die for what he deemed his rights? And we may ask, though with a tremor of emotion, who, when this State was fallen and overpowered in what she considered her strife for self-government, treated her, with their temporary grasp of authority, as in all respects a conquered, rebellious province, because she durst think she had never surrendered her separate sovereignty, and could, as a last resort, dissolve her connection with a system in which her guaranteed rights were likely to be impaired by a combination unfriendly to her, and a combination which, if unresisted, would lead to a consolidation of the government, and perchance to an ill-omened inauguration of imperial power?

Permit me here to pause for a moment. Some of our statesmen who had led us forward in the defense of our convictions of the relations of the State to the Federal government, passed away, prescient, no doubt, of the coming conflict. And though like mournful prophets they

seem to cover their eyes to shut out the disheartening vision of approaching calamities, yet, firm of purpose and persistent unto death, they ceased not to point us onward where duty and honor led. It was not allotted them to guide us further. Others, who survive, are voiceless in their grief for our failure and its consequences. And we are left, as a younger generation, to build up anew the edifice of State from the shattered and blackened ruins around us. With solemnity we accept the task. And bearing in mind that if we be true to ourselves, we cannot be dishonored by any outward force or guile, we may face the future with faith and courage; and even look tearlessly to the past, beholding there, not the false resemblance of our State, decked in borrowed habiliments, but our own venerable mother, in sable robes, yet with a serenity on her queenly brow that knows no darkening of despair, as she bids us vindicate her history, garner up its treasures, and unfold them to the contemplation of our latest posterity; for not without immaculate honor, as future ages shall confess, hath she withstood every violation of the principles she cherished. To her behest ten thousand voices are ready to respond; and in every tone would be heard, in unison, reverence for her, and unfeigned patriotism for the whole country. For thus hath she pointed out our duty as again she lifted up on high the banner of the union; and in every tone would be heard the symphony of our hope, that the mists of misunderstanding and prejudice may be altogether removed from the vision of those whom we are to regard henceforth as fellow-citizens of an undivided Republic. Contributing to this concordant citizenship will be the consideration by us and by them that their errors and ours should lead to an unbiased review of the past, and beneficial constitutional compromises for the future, in place of former ill-will and the haughty dictation of their hour of triumph.

I acknowledge my deficiency in approaching such a theme. Yet what can I choose on this occasion but to speak, feebly as it may be, of that which continually occupies our thoughts—the condition of the State, the misapprehension

of others regarding our policy in the past, and regarding our attitude at the present moment?

1. In presenting very briefly, from our point of view, a few phases of the recent history of the country, and in speaking plainly and unreservedly, we disclaim any feeling of acrimony, and shall endeavor to keep within the limits of historical evidence. In the first place, it is true that from the incipiency of the union there were conflicting elements in antecedent Northern and Southern habits, pursuits, and mental traits, and in the diverse interests of distant latitudes; and elements more dangerously conflicting in anti-slavery sentiments, and in the political doctrine of a national unity opposed to the rights and sovereignty of the States. So different was the task of forming a satisfactory union, that it cannot be said to have been indubitably certain that the constitution was adopted by a majority of the people. It is also true that the vast and perhaps unexpected power generated by the union was soon turned from its proper purpose of mutual benefit, and that the administration of it became a subject of contest for the sake of sectional advancement: that the South acquired and long maintained control of the administration, but used it neither selfishly nor unjustly; that the opposite section of States or the parties in them who differed from us on questions of slavery and nationalism, increased more rapidly than ourselves in population and congressional representation, and found at last a sure means of securing in their turn ascendency in power by a coalition with the organized outgrowth of abolitionism and the mighty moral force of its semi-religious enthusiasm; that in fine, the spirit of the North was aggressive—the spirit of the South conservative. If, therefore, in the course of party contention there sprang up a sectional hostility so conspicuously, avowedly, and finally so potentially detrimental to us that a partnership of mutual benefits was apparently no longer possible, must history decide that our attempt, under such circumstances, to form a separate government was rebellious? Does not the responsibility for the withdrawal of the South from the union, even under

the supposition that we had not an undoubted right to do as we did, rest on those whose policy was not only finally aggressive, but had begun to be so in the first Congress that assembled under the constitution while yet the new government was unharmonious, and its permanency a matter of grave solicitude?

2. The history of a Republic must needs be marked by party contests. But these should lead to mutual compromises. This is the condition of its progress, indeed of its existence. For stagnation is death. Our Republic, for so it still is, being formed of separate States united by compact for specific purposes, for so we still believe, will the longer survive as we effectually guard the rights of the States, the life-giving springs from which fresh currents flow to purify and replenish the reservoir of the delegated power of the union. From which in turn should come back to each State, as from clouds that ascend from the ocean's bosom, refreshing benefactions, not hailstones and destroying floods. The apparent annulment of the doctrine of State sovereignty, the partial suppression of the revivifying activity of States rights is, in this regard, a portentous calamity, subordinating, already, the true nature of the general government, indicated by its name, to the subtle vaticination of its Delphic motto. If, therefore, such an issue of the late contest be interpreted hereafter as a lamentable detriment to the purity of our republican institutions, to whom will the error be ascribed?

3. Inasmuch as there is by others a continued reiteration of the subject of emancipation, we must reluctantly say a word about it: premising that no disposition, not even a thought, is ever entertained among us to reverse, if we had the power to do so, this issue of the late war. The benefits to ourselves of the termination of slavery will ultimately be acknowledged by every one at the South. It may even have been brought about, in the course of time, by our own voluntary act. But the suddeness and irritation of the hostile mode of its accomplishment by the North must, we are inclined to believe, be condemned in history as unwise

and unphilanthropical. If it were wrong for us to hold slaves, it was a wrong encouraged by the legislation of the British Parliament. And the negroes brought hither, came to us in large numbers in the ships of New England, herself a slave-holder and, next to England, our principal slave dealer. It was computed from our custom house records, that during the four years preceding 1808, there were brought to this port 39,075 slaves. Of these, 21,027 were imported by foreigners, chiefly British; 14,605 by natives of Northern States; and only 3443 by citizens of slave-holding States. The money paid for the large portion introduced by our Northern brethren remains, I suppose, to this day in their coffers at home. If slavery were wrong, they must share the opprobrium with us, if they will share nothing else. In claiming honor, and gratitude, and political service for setting our slaves free, either by helping them to abscond or at last by force of arms, they must not forget, and we speak of it that they may not forget, their profitable co-partnership in originally making them slaves. It is as if London and Boston had woven and fashioned for us a coat admirably suited to our climate, and then, because their opinion of it had changed, looked with sinister abhorrence upon their own handiwork, and agreed together to tear from us the cloth they had sold us, without compensation to us, and even to the laceration of our flesh and the shedding of our blood. Is there no error in all this dealing with us, in all the crusade against us? And, in the calm verdict of future history, to whom will such error (to call it by a gentle name) be ascribed?

4. The records of the convention which conformed our State constitution to that of the United States have not been preserved. The Treasurer's vouchers alone are found in our archives. All else, it is said, had been destroyed by special order of the convention, that no evidence might remain of the differences which marked their deliberations. Massachusetts had accepted the constitution of the union by a vote of 187 to 168. Our vote of ratification, showing a greater willingness for union, had been 149 to 73. Differ-

ences of opinion still existed in this State in the convention of 1790; yet, having entered the union we desired its maintenance. As Cæsar destroyed unseen the names of his unfriendly fellow-citizens, that peace might ensue: and Cortez bade his followers sink their ships behind them, that no eye might turn backward from their new career; so the wisdom and magnanimity of our statesmen of the Revolutionary period obliterated all that might disturb their future concordant action in the union. If, when the late war had ceased, peace had brought reconciliation, and with it an obliteration of hostile recollections in the renewed union, would it not have been extolled hereafter as wise and magnanimous? But if, instead, remembrances of disaffection were preserved, disabilities imposed, the right of suffrage withheld, and feelings of hostility retained and cherished against all who had countenanced what they deemed the just cause of constitutional liberty, and there be error here, to whom will the error be ascribed?

5. A republican form of government which is guaranteed to us by our original compact, has come to mean, under the new development, one dependent on nothing else than a numerical majority, with suffrage, by every man without regard to race, color, previous condition of servitude, property, or education. And so cheap and indiscriminate has become this right of citizenship that even women are claiming participation in it. Our government is indeed founded on the collected will of the governed. But to constitute legitimate power, says Guizot, this will should be in conformity to reason, truth, and justice. The government, as a legitimate power, is but the organization, the gathering into one focus, of the public reason and public morality. "What we call representation is nothing else than a means to arrive at this result." It is not a mere collecting of individual wills, but a "process by which public reason, which alone has a right to govern society, may be extracted from the bosom of society itself." If, therefore, in the congressional enactments affecting this State and subverting the will of its most truthful, just, and reasonable citizens, there

be error committed against the essential nature of representation, we ask, in the name of "public reason and public morality," to whom will the error be ascribed?

6. Nations are but erring men; and history is, in great part, but a record of their mistakes. Happy is the people whose timely wisdom repairs the past and changes a coming evil into good. If to the oppressive measures of a Northern reconstruction of the South, be denied hereafter the plea of pure philanthropy towards a race different in almost every respect from the common race of ourselves and our reconstructors, and sold, in large numbers, by their forefathers into bondage to us; if the plea of philanthropy be denied to the effort to elevate this race, as by a jerk, to a higher level of civilization, by thrusting indiscriminately upon them suffrage and all civil privileges, and enabling them, with a voting majority of more than 30,000 in this State, to rule their former masters and tax at pleasure their estates: and in upholding by infantry, cavalry, and artillery, alien and plundering adventurers invested by such new and ignorant voters with every office of former dignity and trust, to the astonishment of the world; if, when truth shall have torn away pretences, such philanthropy be accounted but a disguise to humble and debase us while maintaining their own party ascendency; if, in the persistent eagerness to accomplish such a policy, precedents have been permitted in the exercise of congressional power, and in the employment of the army by the executive as a police in the iniquities of the Enforcement Act, and to interfere with States rights, even to marching the military into halls of legislation; if, hereafter an irresponsible central power thus encouraged shall arise to stifle their own voices at home and trample upon all they hold most dear, to whom will future history point as having swerved from the course into which our ancestors projected their experiment of a new Republic—to whom will history point as betrayers of our common liberties, but to those who may prove that they have not wisdom to change the coming evil into good, nor courage to retrace their steps to the equality and defensive rights

of the States, and to a just regard for the welfare, not of a section only, but of the whole country?

Let us, however, forbear to enumerate further the political errors of those who, since the ascendency of their skillfully achieved new constitutional amendments, are beginning to seem willing, slowly to become friends again at this centennial period of old remembrances, and who will not fail to perceive in their own faithful retrospect of the century that they cannot claim to have been blameless or unselfish, or always wise and patriotic.

And shall we now, pursuing truth alone, turn to consider if there has been any error in ourselves? It has been said that we should approach the faults of our country as tenderly as we would the wounds of a parent. Such a feeling oppresses me as with diffidence the utterance comes that perhaps we were at times too uncalculating and uncompromising; that perhaps we were not altogether faultless in the spirit engendered in us by very many years of uniform political success, and by the unceasing wealth poured upon us from resources which in a great measure controlled the industries of New England, and of the mother country. I presume not to say there was error in any of our fundamental political principles; nor should I imply that there was positive fault in the spirit itself which actuated our people, fostering as it did, all that was noble and of high import, and displaying a type of character, the counterpart of which existed, to the same extent, no where else in our country. But there may have been some lack of wisdom accompanying this spirit; some inattention to results in its disdain of all aspirations lower than its own; in its indifference to the spreading fanaticism of a universal brotherhood; in its defiance of the tone of public sentiment abroad; in its depreciation of the power of our opponents; in its improvidence in neglecting to augment, between the highest class of independent planters and the lowest stratum of population, a large and energetic middle class of wealth-creating and strength-producing citizens, engaged in small farming and in mechanical, commercial, and manufacturing industries; to

encourage them and share with them public honors, and with cordial sympathy restrain their sons from seeking a new sphere of activity beyond our borders, to the weakening, if of nothing else, at least of our numerical strength, as we have sorely felt in our hours of need. Yet so potential and inspiring was this old proud spirit, because it was so noble withal, that when it cried, to arms! rich and poor, the high-born, the lowly, every artisan and humble farmer boy, sprang alike to the standard of the State, ready to die beneath its folds, if it called him there to die. In proof of this absorbing State patriotism among all classes, is the fact that with a voting population of about 60,000, it is computed that 65,000 men were enrolled for the war; and of these, 12,000 brave hearts breathed from dying lips, a blessing on the State, and on the cause for which she summoned them to battle. But let us turn from all this theme, from our faults, if there be any, and from allusions to our disastrous conflict. And we do so with the assertion that the war-worn men who have survived are now, with unabated love for the State and reverence for its old chivalric spirit, patiently and hopefully waiting for a returning sense of justice in their Northern fellow-citizens, and the coming of a permanent reconciliation based upon a generous appreciation of their motives in the past, and of their honor and probity and manly courage. And they are saying to those whom they met in the field, and to the wily politicians who have misled them, lift high between heaven and earth the scales of justice, and let the world look on to decide between us, for in the confidence which truth inspires, we fear not the verdict of its righteous judgment!

And do we desire what is unattainable in also looking forward to our future ability to reconstruct for ourselves our local government? For two hundred years the people of this State have governed themselves. They have never had a constitution which they did not make, and "to this complexion" must it come at last. The right of self-government is our heir-loom, the heir-loom of the Anglo-Saxon race in this country, and of no other race. Actuated by

friendliness and a spirit of equal justice to all around us, and to every honest stranger who arrives, yet we would be untrue to ourselves as South Carolinians if we looked not forward to our mastery here, to a time when the State, awakening from her helplessness in which she has lain confounded and paralyzed by the unexpected superposition over her of her former servile population, will exhibit her indwelling power by an harmonious re-establishment of her government on its old basis of justice and honor, notwithstanding her present apparent impotence amidst baffling, incongruous, and inimical interventions.

Sudden, adventitious, incompatible changes in the organic law of any people are impermanent although sustained, as we have often seen in history, for a life-time or many life-times, by a force against which there can be no successful resistance. A permanent change or addition comes into healthy activity like a fresh twig upon the oak, nourished by stem, and branch, and trunk, and root, down to the smallest fibre in the earth beneath. The essential condition of its vitality is the gradual operation of nature which effects nothing by a leap or a jerk. So it must be in constitutional reform and development. How many years, how many generations passed from the planting of our colony to the perfecting of our State constitution? How many centuries elapsed in England from the time when the opposition of kings and barons gave importance to an accession of freeholders by election, to the time when a Parliament was convened with a preponderating power in the representatives of the people? And we, the descendants of that people, shall not witness our inheritance of principles laboriously acquired through hundreds of years, transferred instantaneously and permanently to another race, who have in themselves no guidance of training or experience, and nothing of the vital force which sustains our political growth. In our present depression as a minority, made so by force, we have but to be wise and patient, as were our English ancestors while often their voice was disallowed and hushed in the domination of monarchs, or prelates, or nobles, or

devastating civil wars, till at length by their admirable pertinacity the very nature of the government was transformed and rested, upon the requirements of reason, truth, and justice. After our late conflict had ended, with its calamitous disorganization of the relations between ourselves and our laboring population so long in bondage, what could we do, powerless as we were, but stand proudly aloof at the approach of an irresistible change inconsistent with all our previous usages and conceptions; a change suddenly forced upon us in the elevation of our African people, the most of them utterly unqualified for such elevation, to political equality, yea, to a complete domination over us? Was it expected that we would hail so preposterous an anomaly as a consummation of christian philanthropy? or welcome so degrading a domination with clapping hands and shouts of joy? Are we not rather worthy of admiration, inasmuch as when insuperable compulsion had made the change irreversible, we submitted in good faith, and leaving to the future the issue of the experiment, such as none of our race have hitherto been called to confront, we stepped aside from the appropriate sphere of our heritage as rulers of ourselves, not to stand by passively, although we were allowed no voice in our local government, but to contribute, wherever we were not repulsed by self-conceit and distrust, to the promotion of the morality, education, and improvement of the new colored citizens and wards of the United States; enduring meanwhile their overburdening taxation of our impoverished estates, in hope that the abundant revenue wrested from us would be faithfully applied to such good purposes by their vaunting friends and Northern-born lovers whom they voted into office in a spirit towards us of resentment and bitter aversion, and whom they have been following in the erroneous belief that we are not their friends, and that power and emolument are the chief objects of the exercise of their new citizenship? And when, confused in a turbid vortex of ignorance, incompetence, and demoralization, they appeared to become, in a very slight degree, aware of their inefficiency in governing the

State, and that nearly all their new guides were to the
false and rapacious guides—have not we offered them o
better guidance? Have we not been found, through a hard
gained and inconsiderable concession of minority represe
tation from this City, ready and willing to sit with them i
legislation, and to impart to them our knowledge and ex
perience in such management of public affairs as, withi
an exceedingly limited range, we have been permitted t
do by their still unabated animosity and suspicion?

Gentlemen of the Historical Society: Do I give utteranc
to aught but the professed truths of history?

Citizens of South Carolina: Do I interpret aright you
endurance, your beneficent disposition, your patriotic hope
in the future, be it far or near? And may I not say that
ever the State was worthy of admiration, she justly claim
it now in her present attitude of wise self-restraint an
calm dignity: her attitude, indeed, of moral grandeur, amid
provocations and oppressions such as it has never falle
to the lot of a highly cultivated and noble people to endure

Whether South Carolina shall again be re-habilitated wit
no diminution of her former stateship, and power, and i
fluence; or whether—but let us not contemplate her i
the future other than she has been, a proud equal amon
the originators of the union! Let us not contemplate he
other than our old State ever worthy of our love and honor
whose historical career is still unfinished, and whose pa
achievements and renown it is the chosen object of th
Society to elucidate and perpetuate. Yet I may go so fa
as to say that there are now two South Carolinas; the ol
and dignified one whose life a political tribulation, almo
overwhelming, has failed to extinguish: and a new bu
spurious South Carolina, usurping the name and function
of the old. We shall not place them in contrast, and bi
you "look upon this picture—and on this!"—but it may b
asked, will the new (which, God forbid!) vitiate the old? o
will the old finally displace the new, or infuse her own pur
nature into it, giving life and vigor to the elements of
modified system adapted to the best interests of two differ

ing races, living together in civil equality, but in insuperable social separation, and whose jealousies, antipathies, and antagonisms nothing but the absence of alien intermeddling, and the wisest statesmanship and forbearance on our part can change, and perhaps may change, into mutual good will and political fraternity? If the future, however, shall continue to be like the present, and the recent past in its corruption, exactions, and the grasping at arbitrary or exclusive control of the State by those liberated from bondage, it will demand the equity of a reversal or modification of decrees under which it is possible to subordinate any portion of the Caucasian race in this country to African or Mongolian domination. Let Northern philanthropy (so-called), try its experiments at its own cost, and without injustice to us; without attempting our humiliation, without stripping us of the inheritance won for us by the labor, the bravery, and the wisdom of our ancestors.

It has been my object to show that the same devotion to republican principles which led us through our colonial existence and the struggle of the Revolutionary war, led us also to our late attempt to form a new government; to show that if we committed political errors, more grievous errors have been committed against us, and against the integrity of our old constitutional republicanism; to show that there has been a continued misapprehension of our motives and attitude since the cessation of armed hostilities; and to claim, without abrogation of convictions, founded on truth and right, the respect and admiration of the whole country, and the concession of compromises such as may better secure our common liberties in the union for our children and our children's children. There is more need of a Centennial for such a purpose than there is need for the one which we are now celebrating. In the very fact that the union is to be henceforth indissoluble, springs up the true policy of the Northern and North-western States; if they shall have wisdom and patriotism enough to substitute the conservation and strengthening of the Caucasian South in

place of their apparent policy for its impoverishment and Africanization.

As an Historical Society, the scope of our labors and the objects which we design to accomplish, have relation mainly to the past. It may, however, be regarded as not inappropriate to the purposes of our Association, to endeavor, with fairness and without reserve, to reveal and expound the present, and thus furnish to the future the true key-note of its interpretation of our history in connection with the history of the whole country. And it may even be permitted us to transcend for a moment the limitations which should properly interest us, and to glance at the future as we deem it discernible in the light reflected from the present, and in the light which the future itself benignly sheds when it beckons us forward to duty to be performed and blessings to be attained. How dispirited, how unenergetic must a people be to whom no hopeful future appears calling them onward to higher happiness, and holding out to view garlands of honor to be won! Must it be said that to us no such ennobling vision appears? That as a State we are become a subordinate portion of a nation which is very nearly unified under a central government to which, in respect of power, we are scarcely more than a county is to a State, or a ward to a City? That this almost accomplished centralization is to be regarded as the result of an evolution that has been progressing for the past one hundred years? If this be so, we at least imparted no impulse to such an evolution. We were not, if we judge aright from antecedent causes, moving in the direction of such a development. If this interpretation of the present is to be realized, our transition from the rank of a Confederated State in the union, to that of a dependent Province, will not have occurred with our passive consent, nor without a struggle and many a wound. We could pass down to our position with the thirty-eight other Provinces of the nation, proud of our scars, proud of them in the presence of those of our sister Provinces who helped forward such a consummation and fought for such a result. But is this to be our future?

Will forty-four millions of voices, throughout our States and Territories, answer in the affirmative? Will this State, feeble as she is, join in such an answer as this? Have we, indeed, no future with an independent local government, and with power as a State to defend our constitutional rights? No future, as a distinctly organized people, retaining all that was nobly characteristic of us from the battle of Fort Moultrie to the furling of the banners at Appomattox? To answer that such expectancy is fallacious, such anticipation of a full renewal of former States rights, with our own domination within our own borders, but a dream and a delusion, and that no hopeful future, with any resemblance to our past, beckons us forward to higher happiness and renown, would be to our souls the overture of a mournful requiem far more sad than that which bowed our heads in sorrow over the graves of our sons and brothers who died in our last effort to preserve and keep secure our rights by the establishment of a separate government. No, fellow-citizens! it is not so—it must not be so. The tombs of those who fell for us in that cause; the tombs of our fathers who perished for our independent local government a hundred years ago, fighting under the stigma of rebels, are around us on every side, and awaken our dutiful reverence for all that is admirable in patriotism. To these tombs let us still lead our children as to holy shrines, and teach them there to emulate the probity and manliness of former times, and to look hopefully to the future. Let us tell them that we were satisfied with the happy condition of our State, and with its constitution; but unprepared suddenly to break up on demand of foreign philanthrophists our established system of labor, or unite in other people's developments uncongenial with our own, or to surrender our liberties and merge ourselves in a consolidated government; let us tell them that we were as a flourishing palm-tree, planted by the waters of a quiet stream, but a flood came from regions in other latitudes and shattered the bloom of our palm, yet did not quite uproot the trunk; that it will regain its vigor; that it will bloom anew and put forth fresh

leaves and branches in the place of those broken and wrenched away and long since borne down on the raging flood; let us tell them that our old State civilization is not annihilated: its courtesies and public manifestations may be restrained; its elegancies may be diminished; its joy may be turned into sorrow; and even its form may be changed; but its essential force still exists in our devotion to honor, in our love of every moral and political excellence. Our career is not yet completed. The future may be still brighter than the past. Truth, and justice, and right, and virtue are everlasting; surviving revolutions in government, and bringing unfailingly to those who cherish them, prosperity and happiness. If there was anything in old South Carolina inconsistent with these everlasting harmonies of the divine law, let it be broken off and perish far down on the flood and out of sight, and our future will be the better for it. But let us hold fast and cherish all that has been in conformity with these principles, and with our exaltation as a race, and with our heritage as freemen. For God has not abandoned us. He still rules the nations of the earth by providences which we may not fully comprehend; but they give us assurance that He will uphold us and strengthen us if we trust in Him; and will send forth in the fullness of time His righteous vengeance against falsehood, and fraud, and wickedness in high places, and against all who wilfully pervert truth and justice, and betray the rights and freedom of their people.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

SOUTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ON THEIR

TWENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY,

MAY 25, 1877,

BY J. J. PRINGLE SMITH, ESQ.

It was a custom of that grand old people, the Athenians,* in the palmy days of the Republic, to listen on certain solemn occasions to a fitting panegyric pronounced by an appointed orator, on the achievements of the past, the methods by which the State had won renown, the polity and conduct by which she had been illustrated. Such commemoration they deemed due to their ancestors, and also of nature to "determine every Athenian to suffer all things with intrepidity and patience in the cause of his country." Superior in many respects as is modern to ancient civilization, valuable hints may still be taken from a people who won for their country a distinction in arts and arms that has been the wonder of all succeeding ages. What themes more appropriate than similar ones, suggested by their example, could I find for the present occasion which specially directs our thoughts to South Carolina and her history, just as she is emerging from a long period of misrule and suffering. Sixteen years ago, this State, with ten others, withdrew from this Federal Union,

---

* Thucydides Pelop. War, Book 2.

seeking safety, peace and happiness under a government within their own borders, so organized as to them seemed most likely to effect those objects. War was waged to force them again into the Union. It was successful, and the world has witnessed a fashion of administration, not to say of humanity, on the part of the victors, without a parallel in the history of recorded time. Emancipated slaves were at a word invested with all political power, a very large proportion of the white race was disfranchised, the intelligence, the virtue, the refinement, the wealth of the country were subjected to absolute ignorance, incapacity and vice; and there began a carnival of wrong, oppression, corruption and crime, supported and protected by the United States Government, such as a civilized people was never before compelled to endure. The determined, concentrated effort of the people who alone have the right to dictate how South Carolina shall be governed, has rescued her from the strangling grasp of her oppressors and spoilers, and the new Federal Administration has acknowledged her right of self-government.* The first emotion then that stirs the bosom and springs to the lips, is one of gratitude to God for our deliverance, and for the happy auspices under which our State begins this new epoch in her life. Sad and patient, but not desponding, we have been sitting in almost Egyptian darkness, amid distress and perplexity, men's hearts well nigh

---

* Only a few months before the address was delivered, the State Elections had resulted for the first time since the Re-Construction Acts of Congress, in the defeat of the Republican party composed of northern white and coloured adventurers and freedmen, with some few turncoats, so few as to be scarcely worthy of mention. Gen. Hampton and all the Democratic candidates were successful. The State House, however, in Columbia, in which were the State offices and archives, was for several months kept in the possession of the defeated party, maintained by United States troops stationed there under the orders of Gen. Grant. It was not until after the inauguration of Mr. Hayes under the decision of the Electoral Commission that the State House was evacuated by the garrison, and re-occupied by the rightful claimants.

failing them for looking after the things to come; for surely never was any former sorrow like to this which has been done unto us—

> But now, at last, the sacred influence
> Of light appears, and * * *
> Shoots far into the bosom of dim night,
> A glimmering dawn.

glad harbinger of the glories of the coming day. Not only then may we recall the encouraging words of the good Æneas to his comrades, survivors of war and storm and shipwreck, *O! passi graviora*, but we may rejoice in the thought—it thrills the heart, and sends the blood bounding along the veins—that the future historian shall take up again at this point a story like to that of former days, the story of a people sensitive to encroachments on their rights and liberties, and intolerant of misgovernment, rising now from the discipline of adversity to press on in a noble career of enlightened freedom befitting their traditions, and the proud distinction of their race and lineage.

It is not, however, as I have intimated, with discussion of the present or too curious speculation on the future, wisely veiled from view, that I now propose to occupy your attention. A cheering bow of promise illumes the heavens so lately dark with lowering clouds—we hail it with grateful joy, and taking fresh courage, we move forward to the duties before us, our faith reassured and "hope, daughter of faith, companion of the way." But of the fixed, irrevocable past, with the seal of immutability forever set upon it, it is permitted to speak with confidence. I invite you to the retrospect. Should it seem superfluous to stir up, by way of remembrance, the minds of my older hearers, I ask their indulgence, because recital of much that belongs to years through which they have lived, but not yet reduced to history, is indispensable, in order to enable the younger, those upon whom the duties and privileges of citizenship are

now devolving, to know their State aright, and so knowing, to estimate properly the honours and responsibilities of that citizenship.

When we reflect on all that has been inflicted on us in the last sixteen years; the waging of the late war by the North on the South, the policy pursued towards the South since the end of the war, especially on the hostile feelings and opinions of the North with respect to South Carolina during the twenty-five or thirty years previous to the war, the wonder rises spontaneously in the mind, what has South Carolina done?—what has she left undone?—that she has been thought to merit all this obloquy, all these deep injuries. These questions I propose to meet. There are those, no doubt, who would reply to the first, "she seceded." I shall not be guilty of trespassing so inexcusably on your patience as to repeat an argument fresh in your minds. But this may not be so generally known, and a fuller explanation will find an appropriate place in the following remarks, that the singular fate of South Carolina may be likened to that of a pupil upon whose devoted head, not because of perverseness, but because of too great docility, the vials of fiercest wrath poured have been those from the hand of the teacher.

In considering the questions asked above, the proper limits of an address oblige me to confine myself to one point, viz: The general course and position of our State towards the General Government and her sister States. It has been common to charge her with a chronic spirit of impatience and discontent, leading often to minatory demonstrations. I use as a text, the following words collated from among others: "Ever on the watch for issues,"—"Agitation did not cease there on one point before it began on another,"—"Passion for violent remedies." Not by way of apology or extenuation, none is needed, but in vindication of the State from these and similar imputations, and in justification of her motives and her action it shall be my object to show, that from the formation of the Union, upon critical occasions

involving the position and honour and dignity of the General Government in its relations with foreign powers, South Carolina has been true and faithful, and moved by the patriotic spirit which in emergencies puts aside selfish considerations and interests, has made the common cause *her* cause, uttering no uncertain cavilling voice, but strengthening the government and promoting its success by firm and eloquent words, by gift of life and treasure, by doing and by suffering—that in matters of internal or domestic nature touching the relations of the Government with the States and of the States with each other, South Carolina has been mindful of others, has readily accepted a full share of the common burdens, has been willing to make sacrifices, has strictly kept faith and fulfilled her engagements, expressed and implied, and has never asked anything but what she was entitled to under the Federal Constitution—that the abuses and encroachments upon the Constitution which have been causes of so many woes, came from others, none of them from her—that so far from having "a passion for violent remedies," her representatives, with the hearty concurrence of her people, in order to secure the blessings of peace, when peace was consistent with right and honour, have done that which is at once the most difficult and the most noble of all things to be done by men in public life, that which stamps with true elevation of soul and genuine patriotism. I mean they have risen above party, and defying "the crowd's tumultuous cries, "have boldly tread the path of duty, whether leading to commendation or to censure—that although at times her convictions imposed upon her contentions with the General Government, yet then her course was open and manly, her purposes acknowledged and proclaimed, and carried into effect when the government was strong and free from embarrassment, never when redress of her private wrongs might have given aid and comfort to an enemy, or so hampered the Government in its foreign policy as to bring discredit upon it.

The statesmen of '87 established, as you know, a form of

government founded upon a written constitution—a compact, having for its basis the free consent of the governed, and recognizing no principle of force other than the "energy of law," consequently dependent for its life on the good faith of men. And I would have you observe the coincidence between the early success of this new experiment of government, and the prevalence with the larger number, at the outset and for a time, of good faith over selfish and sordid motives, and of respect for established law. Was it mere coincidence? In the light of subsequent events, should I not rather say, cause and effect?

My proposition is that the General Government (and I should add the whole country, as it values the Government,) has been indebted to no State more than to South Carolina for effective support and services in grave exigencies, and when sorely needed because of severe pressure, sometimes from without, and sometimes from within. Whatever of merit there may be in this, might perhaps be enhanced by a consideration of the question, whether the benefit has been reciprocal? But this is not my present aim. Anything that may be said bearing on this point will be but incidental to my real object. South Carolina was influenced by early affection for the Union, and when this was chilled by injustice and insult, she still obeyed what seemed to be the dictates of good faith and honour. These were paramount to considerations of return. My concern now is mainly with her conduct towards others, and to present the grounds on which I rest denial of the unreasonable, factious spirit attributed to her. If in pursuing this theme, from the foundation of the government, contrasts unfavourable to others should appear, it will be because they rise up in our very path, and offer no little strength to the argument. Not to notice them would be false delicacy, and unjust, because it would be attributing to others the unmanly, unbecoming part of recoiling from truth; and truth is not cause of offence to a magnanimous nature. It will clear the way too to my purpose to notice

and dispose of a reproach often heard formerly, and resorted to at any time by those who, for want of better weapons, resort to taunt and sneer. I refer to what was intended to be expressed by the phrase, "South Carolina abstraction." And in what, it has been asked, but in abstract principles lie the seeds of all great revolutions? To what else shall we refer the great bulwarks with which, from time to time, our ancestors have thought it necessary to protect their rights, privileges and immunities—Magna Charter, the Petition of Right, and the Bill of rights? "This is called *abstraction*," says the philosophic author of the essay on the human understanding, "whereby ideas taken from particular beings become general representatives of all the same kind, and their names general names applicable to whatever exists conformable to such abstract ideas. Such precise, naked appearances in the mind, without considering how, whence or with what others they came there, the understanding lays up (with names commonly annexed to them) as the standards to rank real existencies into sorts as they agree with the patterns, and to denominate them accordingly." To what test, then, save to these abstract ideas, can we bring questions of right and wrong in politics as in other departments of human knowledge and conduct? We have always been taught to regard the Revolution of '76 as a striking illustration of the application of this test to politics. I borrow the words of an eminent and philosophical statesman, prefacing them with the remark that the sensitiveness to wrong in the men of the period he alludes to, if commendable, was no less so on later occasions in the annals of South Carolina; for on these, the evils were not "augured at a distance," but were actual and present. Mr. Legaré says: "In accounting for our Declaration of Independence it is quite hyperbolical to speak as it has been too common to do, of the tyranny of the mother country and the evils under which the colonies laboured as too grievous to be endured. They were indeed intolerable; but only to such men as our fathers. There was good cause for resistance,

but it may be affirmed with confidence that no other people would have rebelled for such a cause. There was nothing in their situation to excite the passions of vulgar men. There was none of the atrocities by which other nations have been goaded into the fury of civil war—no royal outrages—no religious persecution—no bloody proscription of the wise and brave. Even the right of taxation against which they were contending was a prospective and contingent evil rather than an actual grievance. * * One spirit, one mind pervaded and animated the whole mass. They argued—refined—distinguished—explained, with all the learned ingenuity of the schools. But if they reasoned about their rights with the subtlety of doctors, they were prepared to maintain them with the constancy of martyrs, and for the first time in the history of civil society a metaphysical dispute resulted in the creation of a great empire." Another later result of this *metaphysical dispute* was, in the words of the same author, that "when we came to write our Constitution, we had nothing to do but to transcribe *Magna Charta* with the Petition of Right and the Bill of rights." There is not then always wisdom in ridiculing abstractions. And it may truly be affirmed that the abstractions of South Carolina are to be found in the political philosophy of the Federal Convention of 1787, and of the State Conventions when deliberating, the former on the government to be organized, and the latter on it when proposed. It is through ignorance or misrepresentation of what our forefathers said and did on these occasions, that idle abstractions have been imputed to her as a reproach, when striving to keep the General and State Governments to their proper spheres. It is not with the Constitution and Government of the United States, as established by the founders, that she has ever taken issue: but with violations of the former, and mal-administration of the latter.

If South Carolina be justly chargeable with inordinate propensity to turbulence and agitation, it certainly was not developed until long after the new Constitution had gone

into operation, and notable examples of such temper had been given by other States, beginning at a very early date. In what I am about to say, I have not regard to isolated or casual expressions of individuals. I refer to acts and utterances entitled to the weight properly belonging to such as proceed from party combinations, or from legislatures or other organized bodies. Of such grave character was the agitation in the first session of the first Congress, in 1790, on the subject of the assumption of the debts of the States by the General Government—the agitation towards the close of General Washington's second term at the bare possibility of power passing from the hands of the Federalists into those of the Republicans—the agitation in 1804 on the purchase of Louisiana,—the agitation in 1806 on the embargo imposed by Congress—the agitation in 1812-14, caused by the war with Great Britain. All these turbulent agitations were in the region north of Mason and Dixon's line, in the infancy of the government, and shook it to its centre. Disunion was constantly threatened, and a scheme for its accomplishment took definite shape, as we are informed by the younger Adams.* He says: "This design had been formed in the winter of 1803 and 4, immediately after, and as a consequence of the purchase of Louisiana. * * * This plan was so far matured that the proposal had been made to an individual to permit himself, at the proper time, to be placed at the head of the military movements, which it was foreseen would be necessary for carrying it into execution. * * * That project, I repeat, had gone to the length of fixing upon a military leader for its execution; and although the circumstances of the times never admitted of its execution, nor even of its full development, I had yet no doubt in 1808 and 1809, and have no doubt at this time, (1828) that it is the key of all the great movements of these leaders of the Federal party in New England, from that time forward till its final catastrophe in the Hartford Convention."

* Randall's Life of Jefferson: III, 635.

But this summary mention of occurrences and sentiments in the North touching the Union and the Government in those remote times is too general to give a sufficient idea of their gravity. Some illustrative facts which have long slept in the oblivion of the past deserve to be once more revived.

As to the first mentioned agitation relating to the assumption of State debts. Notwithstanding the fact that the proposition had been made and rejected in the Convention of 1787, to give Congress power to assume the debts of the several States, General Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, recommended their assumption in a report to Congress at its first session.* He had been a member of the Convention, and thus ventured to propose to Congress, the creature of the Constitution, the exercise of a power which he knew the authors of the Constitution itself had not thought proper to insert in it. The bill was at first rejected. Mr. Jefferson† tells us that "this measure produced the most bitter and angry contest ever known in Congress before or since the union of the States. So high were the feuds excited on the subject that on its rejection business was suspended. Congress met, and adjourned from day to day without doing anything, the parties being too much out of temper to do business together. The Eastern members threatened secession and dissolution."

And Mr. Madison testifies to the same effect. He says :‡ "The Eastern members talk a strange language on the subject. They avow, some of them at least, a determination to oppose all provision for the public debt which does not include this, and intimate danger to the Union from a refusal to assume." So large an amount of these securities as well as of certificates of debt to soldiers and other individuals had been purchased in the North at very low rates that the states in which they were held were known as the "Creditor

* Abridgment of Debates and Madison Papers.

† Jefferson's Works.

‡ Writings of Madison, Vol. I, p. 517.

States." Hence their temper when Congress refused to assume those debts. The measure afterwards passed by means of an agreement whereby it was joined with the choice of the bank of the Potomac for the permanent seat of government.

As to the second cause of agitation—when General Washington was about to retire—disunion sentiments were freely circulated in New England,* and writers and speakers "endeavoured to prove the impossibility of union for any long period, both from the moral and political habits of the citizens of the Southern States." In order to arouse angry passions, articles were published, grossly vituperative of the South, such as calling negroes "the cattle of the South in all respects except as to life and death. * * * If they were good for food, the probability is that even the power of destroying their lives would be enjoyed by their owners," etc.

Fowler, a Northern man of high position, in his book entitled, "The Sectional Controversy," says: "This is one of the first lessons in political and moral hatred given by their teachers to the people of New England. * * * * And what was the occasion of sentiments like these? The Southern States in the pending election had declared a preference for Mr. Jefferson rather than for a Northern candidate."

The purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, was the next of the above mentioned causes of agitation, eliciting threats of secession from the Eastern States. You have already heard Mr. Adams's testimony as to the extent to which the project was carried there. And in 1811, when a bill to enable the territory of Orleans (part of Louisiana) to form a State Government was before Congress, Mr. Josiah Quincy,† of Massachusetts, said "its passage would justify a revolution in this country," and he subsequently added: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion, that if this bill passes,

* Fowler's "Sectional Controversy," 273-4.

† Randall's Life of Jefferson, III, 363.

the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation—amicably if they can, violently if they must."

The embargo law, and more especially the "enforcing law," as it was called, establishing a more stringent embargo, was the signal for a wild outbreak of passion in New England. Not only the newspapers threatened violent opposition in most intemperate language, but town meetings were held everywhere, calling for resistance and disunion. It will be sufficient to quote from the proceedings of a town meeting in Boston, as a specimen of the temper of New England at the time. It will be observed, also, that the right of State interposition is distinctly affirmed. The memorial then adopted requested from the Legislature "its interposition to procure for them relief from the grievances they now suffered; * * * relief against the unconstitutional measures of the General Government," declaring that its power "was inadequate to this object, as was evident from the organization of the Confederacy." And the Legislature of Massachusetts declaring the enforcing law "unjust, oppressive, unconstitutional, and not legally binding."*

The last of the above mentioned sources of agitation (war of 1812) will be referred to later when I come to speak of South Carolina's part in it.

It should be remarked that in these threats and projects of secession and disunion, the right is never discussed; it is assumed as not admitting question. The great fundamental idea of all government was that its powers are derived from the consent of the governed. Acting on this theory, the right to change government had been put in practice when allegiance to England had been renounced; and, again, when the old Confederation had been abandoned, though it had been declared perpetual. And now, at the time referred to,

* Randall's Life of Jefferson, Vol. III. pp. 283, 284.

the question of adhering to the new Constitution depended simply upon its proving advantageous or the contrary.

Thus for nearly the first quarter of a century it was not South Carolina that displayed the fondness for "issues" which has been imputed to her. In all this period the only allusion to disunion which may be charged to her, (and I mention this as due to candour,) fell from the lips of Pierce Butler, one of her Senators[4] in the first session of the First Congress. The occasion of it, we are told, was this: "Mr. Butler, as a member of the Convention that framed the Constitution, had consented to give up that part of the report of the committee on detail which required a vote of two-thirds of the members present in each House to pass a Navigation Act. This protection of the interests of the Southern States was imprudently yielded, partly by the vote of Mr. Butler, who assigned as his motive his desire to conciliate the affections of the Eastern States. But when he came to act as a Senator, a 'report had come in with very high duties.' He felt mortified that he had, in the Convention, surrendered the interests of the South by his vote, and was indignant that those whom he had endeavoured to conciliate were taking an ungenerous advantage of his concession."

We have now reached the beginning of a period crowded with exciting and memorable events in which our State acted a very prominent part, now (war of 1812) vigorously supporting the government in maintaining its dignity and honour by resisting injuries and affronts from abroad, and by upholding it against the embarrassing effects of factious utterances and acts in quarters in which much boast has latterly been made of loyalty—now, (Oregon affair,) in the interests of peace and humanity saving, by wise and prudent counsels of her representatives, the country from the consequences of rash party measures, and at all times ready in matters touching her own interests to concede much in behalf of others, (Tariff and extending the Missouri Line.)

---

[4] Fowler, p. 272.

The distinguished part taken by South Carolina in the War of 1812 forbids my passing it over in silence. I shall refer to it in the fewest words possible, for its history is written, and should be generally known. I argue not the point whether its causes were sufficient or not. But this it is important to my present object to notice, that now, as in 1776, no peculiar interest of South Carolina was assailed The affronts and injuries to be resented, viz: Impressment of seamen and violation of rights of neutrals, interfered with the carrying trade and the maritime interests of the North and East. According to Mr. Ingersoll, a historian of the war, the West and South "had nothing but principles to fight for." Moreover, between this State and England, old ties of nature to bind together countries in friendly relations, had been revived after the Revolution. One practice especially tended to establish personal friendships and connexions. It was common to send boys over for education. Young men also went for completion of professional studies. This had a decided and very perceptible effect upon the feelings, manners and modes of thought of a large portion of the State. But all other considerations and motives gave place to fidelity to her ideas of duty to the General Government. How did she discharge that duty? Through all time her sons may look back with exultation to her record. In the Congress of 1812 shone many brilliant lights. But while from other States came forth bright particular stars, South Carolina presented a constellation of dazzling splendor.

> Like the moon the feebler fires among
> Conspicuous shines the Julian star,

Lowndes, Cheves, Calhoun, Williams.

Through these men chiefly the country acquired name and character, and convinced the world of its capacity to defend itself—for these were among the results of the war, and by these men chiefly the war was made and sustained. Sons of the same mother, whose stately brow they "with triumphal

chaplets crowned," *you* will not fail her now, but mindful of the noble things done for her by those of the old time before us, you will make this her day of trial and new effort, *your* opportunity, I will not say to raise her from dishonour, for the shame is not hers, but her spoilers', but to dignify her with new honours, reflected upon her by the worthy services of filial love, services no longer to be profaned by the usurping hand of the stranger. Listen—and listening your hearts will burn within you—to the grand and eloquent tribute paid, and deservedly paid, to her by that illustrious son, whose great abilities were consecrated to her service and life-long devotion, J. C. Calhoun: "We are at war. It is wisdom to make it efficient, and that system will meet with my hearty support, which renders it the most so, be it more or less burthensome. I fear not the effect of taxes on the public mind. * * * It is the duty of every section to bear whatever the general interest may demand, and I am proud in representing a people pre-eminent in the exercise of this virtue. Carolina makes no complaint about the difficulties of the times. If she feels embarrassment, she turns her indignation not against her own government, but against the common enemy. She makes no comparative estimate of her sufferings with those of the other States. She would be proud to stand pre-eminent in suffering, if by this the general good could be promoted: and she this day presents the noble spectacle of a people acquiring increased union and energy from the force of the pressure. And, so far from growing tired of the restrictive system of war, as intimated by the gentleman from Kentucky, she would willingly bear a superadded embargo if the public sentiment should demand it."

These were not words of empty boast: they were true; they were due to his State, and had point and special meaning from the fact that very different sentiments had been uttered elsewhere. Disasters and reverses had been experienced in the early part of the war, and in the face of these, which should have hushed all discord (unless, indeed, the

enemy's success was desired by some of the household)—in the face of these, I say, open and declared opposition to the government existed in certain portions of the Union, even to the extent of practical efforts to embarrass it in its war measures. The war was denounced as offensive. Mr. Calhoun showed that the object being "to repel insult, injury and oppression, it was according to the best writers on the subject, defensive." And from him who was often charged undeservedly with factious motives, came the rebuke, "that an opposition founded in faction, unrestrained by moderation and a regard to the general welfare, is the most dangerous of political evils; the spirit of factious opposition being that without which liberty might be eternal, and free States irresistible."

I have said that practical efforts were made to harass the government, namely, efforts "to withhold the laws, to withhold the loans, to withhold the men who were to fight the battles; in other words, to destroy public faith and deliver the country unarmed to the mercy of the enemy."

The Governors of two of the New England States refused to call out the militia when required by the Secretary of War. This was practical State interposition: that is, nullification, and was exercised after full deliberation and reference to the Supreme Court of one of the States, and was approved by the Legislatures of those States.* As to the right, it may not be for South Carolinians to find fault; but there is another question, viz: the propriety of the time and manner of resorting to the right. Not only political sentiments, but the higher ones of religion and morality, were appealed to. In one very influential State it was, "Resolved, as the sense of the Senate, that in a war like the present, waged without justifiable cause, and prosecuted in a manner that indicates that conquest and ambition are its real motives, it is not becoming a moral and religious people to express any appro-

* Fowler, pp. 284, 285.

bation of military or naval exploits which are not immediately connected with the defence of our seacoast and soil."†

Southern men who supported the government were taunted with being backwoodsmen, who had perhaps never seen a ship until convened at the capital as legislators. A reply came from a member from South Carolina which deserves notice, both for its generous sentiments and for its prophetic discrimination between the form and the substance on which the bond of union depended. "Admit the fact, and what then? Such generous sympathy for those who stand connected with us only by the ties of citizenship does honour to our country. I hope it is not strange. It is usual. Our history abounds with many instances of this sympathy. It constitutes our real union. The rest is form. The wonder is, in fact, on the other side. Since it cannot be denied that American citizens are held in foreign bondage, how strange that those who boast of being neighbours and relations, should be dead to sympathy, should not have the manly spirit to make a generous effort for their relief." Now, in this opposition and lukewarmness of neighbours and kindred, a loose and easy sense of duty and good faith, in those at a distance, might have found excuse for indifference on their part. But not so in South Carolina. Zealously and persistently, through weal and through woe, in the Senate and in arms, she upheld the government: while on the other hand, the enemy was encouraged by the open-mouthed opposition of a portion of the Confederacy, from which delegates met in secret convention, and plotted against the government in this time of war, demanding also certain amendments to the Constitution, suited to the self-aggrandizing ideas of the agitators. It should be noticed that the nullification doctrines reprobated when afterwards adopted in time of peace by

† Randall's Life of Jefferson, III, p. 378.

South Carolina, were accepted and announced as unquestionable truths by those agitators.*

Before leaving this period it should not be omitted that to the efforts of Mr. Cheves and his colleagues the country chiefly owed the establishment and increase of that gallant navy which won glory for the country, and by its exploits destroyed "the charm of British naval invincibility." In 1812 the administration and its party, to which our State belonged, were lukewarm as to this arm of the service. "It was considered anti-Republican to support it." Says Mr. Calhoun: "Acting with my then distinguished colleague, Mr. Cheves, who led the way, I did not hesitate to give it my hearty support, regardless of party ties."†

The next occasion of general excitement and agitation was the application of Missouri for admission into the Union, the question being whether she should come in on equal terms or with restrictions as to slavery—a momentous question com-

---

* NOTE.—The following is an extract from the report signed by the delegates: "That Acts of Congress in violation of the Constitution are absolutely void, is an undeniable position. It does not, however, consist with the respect and forbearance due from a Confederate State towards the General Government to fly to open resistance upon every infraction of the Constitution. The mode and the energy of the opposition should always conform to the nature of the violation, the intention of its authors, the extent of the injury inflicted, the determination manifested to persist in it, and the danger of delay. But in cases of deliberate, dangerous and palpable infraction of the Constitution, affecting the Sovereignty of a State, and liberties of the people, it is not only the right, but the duty of such a State to interpose its authority for their protection, in the manner best calculated to secure that end. When emergencies occur which are either beyond the reach of the judicial tribunals, or too pressing to admit of the delay incident to their forms, States which have no common umpire must be their own judges, and execute their own decisions. It will thus be proper for the several States to await the ultimate disposal of the obnoxious measures recommended by the Secretary of War, or pending before Congress, and so to use their power according to the character these measures shall finally assume as effectually to protect their own sovereignty and the rights and liberties of their citizens."

† Speeches, Vol. III, p. 276.

pared by Mr. Jefferson to "a fire bell in the night awakening and filling with terror." The dispute ended in the adoption of what has since been known as the "Missouri compromise"—ominous word! Prophets there were who revealed to the too confiding South the true character and the motives and consequences of this interference with subjects over which Congress had no control, "this most serious and eventful attack on our most sacred and valuable rights and properties."† Alas!

"All heard, and none believ'd the prophecy."

The question of slavery has passed away, but what catalogue shall embrace all the bitter fruits of neglect of the warning of a representative of Carolina?—"On the subject of the Constitution, no compromise should ever be made. Neither can any be made on the national faith."

The facts connected with this transaction afford a signal illustration of the opposite traits and conduct of the peoples of the two sections (North and South). On one side we find a spirit of arrogance, aggression and faithlessness: on the other, I speak here not for South Carolina alone—the same is true of others—we find a spirit of self-sacrifice for the sake of harmony and preservation of the Union, and fidelity to engagements. To the precedent then introduced of compromising the plain obligations of treaty and of law, may be traced, as we follow a river to its source, the spring and origin of subsequent wrongs, which increasing with time in number and gravity, at last provoked the storm in which Constitution and country alike made shipwreck.

Missouri was a portion of the large territory known as Louisiana. The Treaty of Cession, under which the United States acquired Louisiana, contained the following stipulation: "The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, and admitted as soon as

---

† Charles Pinckney.

possible, according to the principles of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States."

Accordingly a Territorial Government was first given to Louisiana, then known as Orleans Territory; and afterwards Missouri and Arkansas were given like Territorial Governments, in all of which slaves were admitted without restriction. In 1812, Orleans, taking the name of Louisiana, was admitted into the Union, with her slaves, on an equal footing with the original States. During sixteen years or more, Missouri regarded herself, without objection made, as exactly in the situation of what had been Orleans Territory, and was waiting her time to be also admitted as Orleans, or Louisiana, had been, into the Union, on the same footing.

During this time many thousand slaves had been carried there. With things in this condition, she applied in March, 1818. A Republican form of government was the only qualification required by the Constitution of the United States. When the application came up for consideration in the House of Representatives, an amendment was proposed to the bill by a Northern member, imposing certain restrictions upon slavery, and providing for its ultimate abolition. The Senate would not agree to this amendment, and consequently the bill failed. The next year the application was renewed. Maine also applied. In the Senate, which had been, and was still willing to admit Missouri on a footing of equality, it was proposed to join Maine and Missouri in the same bill, putting them on the same level. Strenuous opposition was made, and a difference insisted on because of slavery. Mr. Roberts, of Pennsylvania, said: "What do we find in the front of the Constitution of Maine—'All men are born free and equal,' (misquoted, it is worse still, viz: 'Born equally free and independent,') here is a substantial pledge to the good old faith. To her we may say: 'come, sister, take your place in our constellation: the lustre of your countenance will brighten the American galaxy.' But do

not urge us to admit Missouri, under a pretence of congeniality—with the visage of a savage, deformed with the hideous cicatrices of barbaric pride, with her features marred, as if the finger of Lucifer had been drawn across them."

The House again insisted on restrictions, and it became evident that Missouri would not be admitted unless she could consent to come on an unequal footing, and therefore with her sovereignty impaired, and with inferiority confessed. Out of this difficulty grew the compromise proposed by Mr. Thomas, of Illinois, whereby slavery was prohibited in Territorities north of the line of 36 degrees 30 minutes, except as to the Territory of Missouri. This was a solemn compact—that in consideration of the prohibition in certain regions, Missouri should be admitted without any restrictions. Of the eleven representatives from South Carolina, five voted for this arrangement, six against it. Upon its adoption seemed to depend not only the establishment of peace and quiet, but even the continuance of the Union itself. But it soon appeared that this surrender of constitutional equality had been a very serious and irretrievable error, and like all such concessions, only an invitation and encouragement to further aggressions.

Nevertheless, South Carolina, true to what seemed the demands of good faith, continued to acquiesce in the compromise as a settled arrangement, which she would not disturb, because to do so would be to disturb the peace and harmony of the Union. Acting on this, no opposition was offered by her, or other Southern States, when the strength of the North was about to be increased by the admission of Iowa. But now mark the course of events, keeping in mind that the territory from which slavery was excluded was of so great extent, that many States would be formed from it. Striking will be the contrast between the faithful acquiescence of the South, and the breach of faith of the North. At the next session of Congress, Missouri, for the third time, applied. To the North had been granted exclusion of slavery

from an immense territory. Maine had been admitted, and her representatives were in Congress. The South has paid the consideration; surely now, the North will abide by the contract. Not so—Missouri was denied admission. Thus the North practically set aside the compact made only a year before. There were some honourable exceptions :

Mr. Clark of New York, who had voted against the compromise, said : "I consider myself bound by the pledge. I cannot consent, as a member of this House, to observe a Punic faith, even with Missouri."

The Northern members thus refusing to adhere to the compromise, Mr. Brown, of Kentucky, proposed to repeal the prohibition north of 36 degrees 30 minutes. But this too was refused. "They would keep the consideration, but would not carry out the compromise by which they obtained the consideration."

Mr. Charles Pinckney said : "I feel authorized to express fear of the dissolution of the Union, because gentlemen in opposition now throw off the veil and declare that it is their intention to leave, if possible, this question to the next Congress; to leave to them, if possible, unfettered by any act of ours, the power to decide how far the true interests of the Union may then make it necessary to produce anew, and struggle for, the imposition of the restriction on slavery which has during the last three sessions shaken the Union to the very foundations. They openly avow that they do not consider themselves bound by the compact of the last year, confining the restriction to the north of 36 degrees 30 minutes, but aver, if they have the strength to do so, their intention to leave the next Congress free to decide it as they please."

Missouri was not admitted by Act of Congress until February 28, 1821; and then on a condition which required the passage of an Act by her Legislature, so that her admission was not complete until 10th August, 1821.

And so, says Mr. Benton, "the portentous struggle of two years and a half came to a close."

You have thus seen that from March, 1818, the date of her first application, until August, 1821, two years and a half, Missouri was kept out of the Union, in spite of the obligation to admit her under the Treaty of Cession from France; in spite of the obligation to admit her under the United States Constitution; and finally, for some months, (and then new terms were required) in spite of the compact called the Missouri compromise. Any one of these obligations was sufficient—but what shall we say or think of disregard of the accumulated force of all three? And what was the pretext for disregard of the last mentioned, involving tergiversation and "Punic faith?"

It was that she had provided in her Constitution for the enactment of laws excluding free negroes from the State. I say pretext, because the speeches quoted above exhibit the real animus of her opponents, and also because similar provisions in the Constitutions of other States were not causes of excitement, and brought on them no censure.*

And I find in Fowler's book the following, which there is no reason to doubt, though it is not in my power to verify it: "Other States have been admitted without resistance or objection, in whose Constitutions there were similar provisions; and Massachusetts had placed similar provisions on her Statute Book as early as 1788, just after the ratification of the Constitution."

But there is more to be said on this subject illustrative of the courses of the North and South respectively, and particularly of that of South Carolina. In April, 1844, a treaty of annexation of Texas was signed by the plenipotentiaries of the two governments,† and soon afterwards communicated to the Senate. The independence of Texas had been acknowledged. It was a slave-holding State. Among the terms of the Missouri compromise there was none relating to slavery south of the line. Yet no sooner had the annexation of

* Kentucky and Indiana as to Negroes, and Oregon as to Chinese.

† Texas and the United States.

Texas become certain, than an attempt was made—the proposition coming from the North*—to divide the State, and prohibit slavery in one-half of it, though all but an inconsiderable portion of that half was below the line. This, however, was negatived, and in the joint resolutions for annexation the Missouri line was reaffirmed.

The first instance of secession, so far as in the power of a Legislature, occurred on the annexation of Texas. The following resolutions passed the Legislature of Massachusetts:

"1. *Resolved*, That the annexation of Texas is *ipso facto* a dissolution of the Union.

"2. *Resolved*, That Texas being annexed, Massachusetts is out of the Union."†

The slavery struggle was renewed on the acquisition of additional territory from Mexico, the attack again coming from the North in the shape of the famous Wilmot proviso, by which slavery was to be excluded from all and every part of any acquired territory. To meet this, a member from South Carolina (Mr. Burt)—the bill for organizing the Territory of Oregon being under consideration—proposed an amendment, recognizing the Missouri line compromise as applicable to all Territories. But the aggressive temper of the North was now excited beyond the restraints of good faith and consideration for others, as well as of law, and the amendment was rejected.

The motive for proposing it appears from the following extract from a speech of Mr. Calhoun: "Let us not be disturbers of this Union. Abhorrent to my feelings as is that compromise line, let it be adhered to in good faith; and if the other portions of the Union are willing to stand by it, let us not refuse to stand by it. It has kept peace for some time, and in the present circumstances, perhaps it would be better to be continued as it is."

A similar proposition was again made by a member from a

* Political Text Book, Tribune Association, 1860.

† Fowler, 387.

non-slave-holding State, and again it was voted down. Thus South Carolina clearly united her voice to that of other Southern States in favour of adherence to the Missouri compromise, while the North refused to apply it to new Territories, a fact of great significance in relation to its repeal‡ in 1850, when another so-called compromise was substituted.

I need not detain you with more than a mere reference to the continued agitation by a party at the North during the ten years between 1850 and 1860. At the latter date the unclean spirit of fanaticism had taken with itself seven like spirits, and they had obtained such entire possession of the Northern mind, that all compacts, whether expressed or implied, were brushed aside like cobwebs, and the design openly proclaimed by the Republican party to administer the government with a view to the ultimate extinction of slavery.

The Constitution of the United States contained a provision for amending it, but when the article in the same Constitution requiring return of persons held to service or labour in one State, and escaping therefrom, became inconsistent with new ideas in the North, instead of resort to the prescribed methods of amendment, Acts were passed in most, if not all of the Northern States, which rendered negatory (nullified) the provision for delivery of fugitives.

Again, then the record shows that it was not South Carolina that never ceased to agitate. It was not she that insisted on agreements while they suited her ideas or her interests, and then clamoured for their abolishment as soon as their fruits were bitter to her taste.

I pass on to the subject of the tariff. Doubtless it is chiefly to her course on this question that we should be pointed in evidence of the restless character attributed to our State. Her assailants seek to barb their arrows by also charging her with inconsistency, and so to make later complaints from her seem the more unreasonable. Time will not allow this charge to be discussed; depending, as it does

‡ Fowler, 144.

depend, on the allegation that the tariff of 1816, which received support from South Carolina, was the origin of the protective system, nor to present you in their fullness and strength, the grounds on which this has been combatted—grounds so strong that, to say the least, the assertion cannot be admitted save with qualifications little short of denial. The discussion, however, were foreign to my present argument, which would not lose, but rather gain strength, if that tariff were of the class since called protective. For all will allow that no material interest of South Carolina was promoted by it. Her concern was only the maintenance of the honour of the General Government. To this she looked with single eye. The war of 1812 had left that government burdened with a debt of one hundred and twenty millions. By it, and the restrictive system which had preceded it, capital and industry had been diverted from commerce to manufactures. The tariff then was intended as a fiscal measure for the early payment of the debt, and incident to this would be the saving of manufacturers from ruin by sudden reduction of the duties.

If there was protection, it was overlooked or granted by South Carolina, because her first care was not for herself, but for the honour of the government and the welfare of others; and this is the spirit I claim for her. She felt, too, that having warmly advocated the war, there was obligation upon her to come forward to meet the resulting responsibilities. But it soon became plain that advantage would be taken of these patriotic and generous impulses, to abuse the system into a means of enriching a favourite class and section at the expense of another. To this end, protective duties were increased from time to time, until a tariff was reached which, out of an importation of sixty-four millions,* yielded the government thirty-two millions, imposing intolerable burdens on the foreign exchanges of the agriculturists of the South,

* Calhoun's Speeches, Vol. III, p. 293.

and greatly damaging her commerce, while wealth and prosperity were the portion of the favoured States.

Such was the return for the feelings of kindness, combined with a sense of justice, that led South Carolina to add her support to the Bill of 1816, which agents of the manufacturers had said gave sufficient protection, and which was considered as final. This it was that caused South Carolina, after repeated but vain appeals to justice, and to all the common memories of the past, to turn her attention to the question whether a State had any means by which to assert her reserved powers.

Even then the offer was made in Congress "to take the Act of 1816 as the basis of a permanent adjustment of the tariff, simply reducing the duties, in average proportion, on all the items to the revenue point. After such an offer," continued the distinguished speaker, "no man, who values his candour, will dare accuse the State, or those who represented her here, with inconsistency."

But by this time the greed of gain on the part of the North had overpassed all limits. South Carolina, in the steps she took, acted neither from passion, nor precipitately. To her may be applied what was said by an Athenian orator of his fellow-citizens: "Brave in action, we yet deliberate carefully beforehand." Her action was preceded by long and patient deliberation, the appeal being to the intelligence, no less than to the feelings of the people. In essays, in speeches, in pamphlets, in debates, were discussed principles of political economy, of revenue, of law and Constitution, and the relations between the State and the General Government. Blame our people, if they should be thought to deserve blame for incautious generosity, and then for refusing to submit to abuse of that generosity, entailing poverty and degradation, but blame them not for turbulence and unworthy passion. When thinking of the several causes which in combination brought the State in 1860 to the conclusion that but one escape remained from a condition of inferiority, let it be

remembered that, although, according to the original "bargain,"* whereby the sectional questions which threatened to defeat the formation of the Constitution were adjusted, the advantages turned out to be greatly on the side of the North, yet even these advantages were unjustly and ungenerously abused, while the compensation pledged to the South was denied.

The North gained the right to pass Navigation Acts by a bare majority, to tax the tonnage of foreign nations for their own benefit as carriers, to lay duties on foreign imports for their own benefit as manufacturers. These powers became sources of immense wealth to the North. The South was to count five negroes as three whites for purposes of taxation and representation, and to have rendition of fugitives. No benefit, beyond the acknowledgment that negroes were property, (and this proved of no avail) accrued to the South from this "bargain," for the government was supported by duties, not by direct taxes, while there was loss in representation, and rendition of fugitives was refused. The fixing a period (1808) prior to which "importation of such persons as any of the States now existing, shall think proper to admit," could not be prohibited, has been by some misunderstood. It has been occasionally spoken of as a concession to the South. This is quite a mistake. All the Eastern States were glad of, and voted for the *postponement* of the prohibition to the year 1808, for by them the trade was carried on. But, in fact, it was a concession from those of the Southern States that desired the continuance of slavery, to consent at all to shut their ports against importation of Africans.

In return for it they were not only to be unmolested, but perpetually secured and defended against molestation, and to have in regard to this property the same privileges appertaining to citizens of other States in regard to other property. The concession then constituted one of the many and strong moral (besides the legal) obligations on the North to maintain

* So styled by Gouvernear Morris, of Pennsylvania.

and protect forever the Southern slaveholder in the peaceful enjoyment of all his rights as such.

None will deny the active and influential part taken by Charles Pinckney, in the formation of the Constitution. Listen to his words, spoken in the Missouri debate: "I will detail as far as at this distant period is possible what was the intention of the Convention that formed the Constitution, in this article. The intention was to give Congress power, after the year 1808, to prevent the importation of slaves, either by land or by water, from other countries. The word import includes both, and applies wholly to slaves. Without this limitation, Congress might have stopped it sooner, under their general power to regulate commerce: and it was an agreed point, a solemnly understood compact, that on the Southern States consenting to shut their ports against the importation of Africans, no power was to be delegated to Congress, nor were they ever to be authorized, to touch the question of slavery: that the property of the Southern States in slaves was to be as sacredly preserved and protected to them as that of land, or any other kind of property in the Eastern States was to be to their citizens."

We well know the sort of protection that the South received. Again, in utter disregard of the understanding that the compromise of 1833 was to close the tariff controversy, when the time arrived at which, according to the descending scale, revenue rates were reached, the Act was overthrown in contempt of good faith, and of pledges that if the South would adhere to the compromise while it was operating favourably to the manufacturing interest, they of the North would stand by it when it should come to operate justly for the South.

In this we find evidence of the fidelity of South Carolina to her engagements; and for this reason I have referred to it. She did adhere to the compromise; for in view of the abundant revenue which had flowed into the treasury under the Act, propositions were made to hasten some of the reductions

of the first year. Mr. Calhoun's reply was: "if we should vote now to repeal or reduce duties more rapidly that this Act (compromise of 1833), how can we complain if the manufacturing interests should hereafter increase the duties, or retard or arrest the reduction provided by the Act? Fair and honourable dealing has ever distinguished the Southern character, and I trust we have too much self-respect to complain if the measure we now mete to others should hereafter be measured to ourselves. * * * I shall firmly maintain the position I have taken. I shall not assent to disturb the Act of 1833 in the slightest degree, so long as the manufacturing interests shall adhere to its provisions, be the conduct of politicians what it may."

Incredible as it may appear, the high duties *were* restored as soon as the time arrived at which the South was in her turn to receive benefit from that Act (of 1833).

In all these matters, which concerned the relations of our State with the General Government and the other States, her course, as you have seen, was governed by large and generous motives, and by a scrupulous adherence to good faith, whatever of self-denial it might demand. By an equally laudable spirit of obedience to duty, she was actuated on other occasions, two of which should here be mentioned. On the one she came to the aid of the administration; on the other she opposed it: yielding, in doing so, to the higher claims of right and fair dealing. The first was when the independent treasury scheme was proposed by Mr. Van Buren, in 1838. It immediately received support from her Senator, Mr. Calhoun, against a very powerful opposition, and although complete estrangement existed between him and Mr. Van Buren. His course subjected him to manifold imputations from Messrs. Clay and Webster, with whom he had spoken and acted in condemnation of General Jackson's removal of the deposits from the United States Bank. These gentlemen were disappointed at Mr. Calhoun's separation from them, in order to advocate the great measure of Mr.

Van Buren's government. But in triumphantly refuting their arguments and personal attacks, he affirmed that he was acting on principles and opinions long entertained and repeatedly announced. These his State had approved. The time had come for their re-assertion, and he hesitated not to maintain them. His manly words exhibit the tone of himself and the public men of our State. "I am sent here by my constituents in order to watch over their peculiar interests, and take care of the general concern; and if I were capable of being deterred by any one, or any consequence, in discharging my duty—from denouncing what I regard as dangerous or corrupt, or giving a decided and zealous support to what I think right and expedient—I would, in shame and confusion, return my commission to the patriotic and gallant State I represent, to be placed in more resolute and trustworthy hands."* The State approved and upheld his course.

I turn now to the second occasion alluded to, when, on the other hand, but still following the dictates of duty, South Carolina appeared in opposition to another administration—Mr. Polk's. I have reference to the Oregon affair. It is again, as in 1812, a question of peace or war. But *then* the honour of the government and of the country called for war, and South Carolina advocated it. *Now*, the true dignity of the government, the welfare of the country, and humanity itself, require peace, and Carolina opposes war. It is necessary to recall some of the prominent facts, in order to estimate properly the obstacles to a peaceful settlement, and the high spirit which would not be deterred by them. The territory was claimed by both Great Britain and the United States. In order to prevent collisions, a Convention had been entered into, whereby the territory was to be free and open to emigrants from both countries; each party having the right to terminate the Convention by giving one year's notice. As the "land-hunger" increased among the people of the North and West, they became impatient under the long

* Speeches, Vol. 3, p. 249.

and fruitless negotiations for arranging the boundaries. In 1845 Mr. Polk succeeded to the Presidency, after a most active and exciting contest with Mr. Clay. One of the platform resolutions of the Democratic Convention, of which Mr. Polk was the nominee, was as follows:

"*Resolved*, That our title to the whole of the Territory of Oregon is clear and unquestionable; that no portion of the same ought to be ceded to England, or any other power." &c., &c.

Thus "the whole of Oregon or none" became a party cry. Mr. Polk, in his message, recommended to Congress to give the notice of termination of joint occupancy. Those who supported the notice professed to believe the claim good for the whole, and insisted that the honour of the party and of the country demanded its assertion, though an appeal to arms should become necessary. The excitement became intense, for war seemed imminent. All stocks fell, marine insurances rose, and commerce through all her nerves felt the shock. Nevertheless, the war party was numerous, swollen by many whose motive was the enlargement of what in the party slang of the day was called the "area of free soil." South Carolina, as you know, had supported Mr. Polk. What now would be her voice? The Democratic party was pledged against the evils from which she had suffered; it had condemned internal improvements, assumption of State debts for internal improvements, the fostering of favourite branches of industry, interference with domestic concerns of the State, and demanded economy and strict construction of the Constitution. Whatever of hope then South Carolina might have, was in this party And now what will be her course? Will she perfer the claims of that party whose political tenets are those for which she has for years contended, and in the success of which rest her only hopes of equality and prosperity? Or will she risk these by choosing the path of duty—by subordinating local and temporary considerations to others of broad and enduring character? There is an enlightened and

proper allegiance to party which honour requires, and which is essential in free governments. But this virtue, like others, is capable of abuse, as we have seen in a very recent instance.*

A great student and writer of history (Macaulay) has thus spoken: "The effect of violent animosities between parties has always been an indifference to the general welfare and honour of the State. A politician where factions run high is interested not for the whole people, but for his own section. The rest are in his view strangers, enemies, or rather pirates. Thus in Greece it was a point of honour for a man to leave his country and cleave to his party. In the Italian States of the 13th and 14th centuries, from the same cause, no man was so much a Florentine or a Pisan, as a Ghibeline or a Guelf. * * * The Reformation, dividing almost every European country into two parties, produced similar effects. The Protestant Statesmen of Scotland and France called in the aid of Elizabeth; and the Papists of the League brought a Spanish army into the very heart of France. * * * * The commotions to which the Revolution gave rise were followed by the same consequences. The Republicans in every part of Europe were eager to see the armies of the National Convention and the Directory appear among them. * * * The Princes and Nobles of France, on the other hand, did their utmost to bring foreign invaders to Paris."

Blind and servile devotion to party is incompatible with that "erectness of mind" which demands what is just and true. And the respect of our people has followed their representatives when their action has been the result of conscientious conviction, irrespective of popularity. So it was in the case before us.

Mr. Calhoun was in retirement. One of our Senators was the Hon. Daniel Elliott Huger—a distinguished and deservedly honoured citizen, who had done the State much service, hav-

* The decision of the Electoral Commission.

ing well discharged the duties of many important offices; among them those of an able and upright Judge—a man who combined a vigorous and cultivated intellect with the highest moral qualities—integrity, justice, firmness. Yet such a man, adorning the exalted office of a Senator, impressed with the magnitude of the crisis, and regarding Mr. Calhoun as the statesman and orator most apt of all to succeed in opposing the very party which he and his State had recently contributed to restore to power, and to "wield that fierce Democrate," withdrew, that Mr. Calhoun might be appointed in his stead. All honour to such rare magnanimity—happy the State that can add to the long list of illustrious deeds of her sons, such grand exhibition of sublime patriotism, unalloyed by any thought of self. The whole country turned to Mr. Calhoun as the wise counsellor, superior alike to the frowns of power, to exaltation of self, and to servility to party. With breathless attention the peoples of two great empires awaited utterances on which, as of old on the answers of the Oracle, were suspended momentous issues affecting the highest interests not only of government, but also of humanity. They had not misjudged him. With the poise of conscious rectitude, with the dignity that aims at higher objects than place or power, with the greatness that accepts any sacrifice rather than do violence to judgment and sense of right, with the large philanthropy of the Christian statesman, he yields nothing of the honour or rights of his country, yet

"Sooths with sober words and awful peace maintains."

You can hear nothing containing more interest or instruction than his lofty sentiments. "Having been thus brought by the line of policy to which I was opposed to choose between compromise and war, I without hesitation take the former. In making the choice I am actuated by no unmanly fear of the consequences of war. I know that in the existing state of the world, wars are necessary; that the most sacred regard

for justice and equity, and the most cautious policy, cannot always prevent them. When war must come, I appeal to my past history to prove that I shall not be found among those who falter, but I shall take care never to contribute by my acts to precipitate the country into a war when it can be fairly avoided. I am on principle opposed to war, and in favour of peace, because I regard peace as a positive good, and war as a positive evil. * * * War has far heavier calamities than its ravages and devastations, or the flowing of blood, and manifold losses and miseries. I refer to permanent and dangerous social and political changes which often follow in its train. * * * I oppose war, not simply on the patriotic ground of a citizen looking to freedom and prosperity of his own country, but on still broader grounds as a friend of improvement, civilization and progress. All these would in a great measure be arrested by war with Great Britain. Shall it be we who shall incur the high responsibility of retarding their advance, and by such a war as this would be?"

Other representatives from South Carolina in the same manner preferred duty to party, and the controversy was finally adjusted by adopting the boundary line as designated by Mr. Calhoun. And so, for the continuance of rest and peace, with their blessings and untold consequences, the whole land was mainly indebted to the words and counsels of the statesmen of South Carolina.

It has thus been shown that during the first quarter of a century of the existence of the Federal Government, threats and plans of secession and disunion were made on five several occasions in States north of Mason and Dixon's line, put forth by their representatives in Congress, by political bodies, by influential assemblies, such as town meetings and legislatures, and by a memorable Convention, while in the same period, only the solitary voice of one individual in South Carolina was heard to utter those words—that the tariff of 1816, supported from patriotic feelings and generous consid-

eration for the North, was tortured by the North into a permanent system of taxation for its aggrandisement at the expense and to the serious injury of the South, and that South Carolina resorted to nullification in 1832, as the only measure by which to arrest the protective sy-tem and establish constitutional and just taxation; that the compromise of 1833, by which this was to be gradually effected, was violated by the North in 1842. You have seen, also, that the constitutional equality of the States was destroyed by the adoption of the Missouri line, thought necessary, through the course of the North, as the only means of avoiding greater evils; and although this necessary, but unfair and unconstitutional compromise, was acquiesced in by the South for the sake of peace and continued union, and in order to stop forever the slavery agitation, yet this agitation was not allowed to subside, but was constantly renewed by petitions to Congress from the North for abolition, and by persistent attempts to enact the Wilmot proviso; and in 1860, when the South resorted to secession, the Northern States had (every one of them), on their statute books, laws defeating the constitutional provision for return of fugitives. Further, it has appeared that nullification and secession, held to be such flagrant crimes on the part of the South, and especially of South Carolina, for which we have been denounced as rebels and traitors, for which we have been made to suffer as never before any civilized people has suffered, had been proclaimed and practised in the North, (the former in the life-time and under the eyes of the framers of the Constitution) as undoubted rights of the States as sovereign parties to the compacts of the Constitution.

Finally, you have seen that disregard and violation of law and Constitution, with attendant agitations, and aggressions on the interests and rights of the South, have been originated and continued by the North, and that the action of South Carolina and of the South has been purely defensive and for self-protection; that in the perplexities produced by sectional strifes and under multiplied grievances, South Carolina,

while in the Union, maintained her fidelity to the Constitution, sought to promote the general welfare and the honour of the government, at home and abroad, bearing her share of common burdens, and demanding nothing for herself and the South but equality and just rights under the fundamental laws of the land.

The primary object of this cursory review of the more momentous crises of the past was to vindicate our State from calumny, and to exhibit her as she has been. But other uses are suggested by our researches and the conclusions to which they have brought us.

Whenever any one would forecast the future of South Carolina, we proudly point to the high standards which have guided her and her statesmen, as sufficient guarantee of her principles and practice hereafter. I say this, because very recently, while nobly struggling to burst her bonds and rise with form erect and free, her motives and purposes have been impugned, and her intentions suspected abroad, in a great degree through the foul but interested aspersions of those who have been preying on her vitals. While like the aspiring eagle, she was "kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam, purging and unscaling her long abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, were fluttering about amazed at what she meant."

Not only politicians and officers of State, but dignitaries of literary and academic fame, all with audacious and mocking scorn of, and insult to, the theory of self-government lying at the very foundation of American institutions, have come forward seeking to keep her caged and barred by very grave and prudent counsels as to the wisdom and safety of again entrusting the administration of her affairs to the hands to which alone it of right belongs. Individuals and commissions have come, some in disguise, some openly, to ascertain how much of terrible, though undefined, danger of wrong,

oppression and violence there might be in leaving her to the equal exercise of constitutional rights. All such misgivings and apprehensions are as insulting as they are gratuitous—they are fruits of the unforgotten "preachings of hatred" by which so many have been perverted. Be it known to all, it is known to us, that the standards of honour, faith, duty, forbearance, generous regard for others, which, set up by Carolinians of old, have been handed down to their successors, will not, can not, be lowered by Carolinians. They can never so forget what they owe to themselves, to their birthright, to their obligations to the past. Sacred, too, to them through all time must be a peculiar pledge long ago given, or else the State whose name they bear must basely lay down, which she cannot, a glory the same for which seven Grecian cities of old contended, the glory of being the mother of a peerless son. I recall the solemn, emphatic words of one to whose pure and lofty name Carolina can never do dishonour by stooping to any act of shame. Near this spot, in yonder ancient church yard, repose the remains of a native of the State, reared on her soil, and drawing from her atmosphere the inspirations that animated a character which in turn conferred on her immortal distinction—a character whose whiteness, like that of the unspotted snow, but shines forth with more dazzling lustre from increase of light upon it. Over those "hallowed reliques" rise no "piled stones nor starry pointing pyramid"*—a name the only epitaph—

> Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
> Thou in our wonder and astonishment
> Hast built thyself a live-long monument,
> And so sepulchr'd in such pomp dost lie,
> That Kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

To yonder grave of Calhoun I bid the maligner go, and 'shrink abashed at the words of him who, though dead, yet

---

* Since above was written, a monument has been erected on the spot, by the State.

speaks; words which, although referring originally to payment of just and honest debts, apply to all matters which touch the honour of the State. "South Carolina is in debt. I pledge myself that she will pay every dollar that she owes. * * * Should I be by possibility mistaken, should she tarnish her unsullied honour, * * * (which I hold impossible) deep as is my devotion to her, and mother as she is to me, I would disown her."

Again, I point to the historical reminiscences which have occupied us, as justifying another reflection to which our experience and the times give no little importance. We have been accustomed to boast of the political institutions under which we have lived as pre-eminently productive of liberty. But careful observation must compel the acknowledgment that, whatever of truth there may be in the assertion, whatever of success in this regard has attended these institutions, founded as they were on the theory that Republican government is one of law, not of men, is really attributable to a cause less superficial. I mean that reverence for law, enacted according to the trust reposed in the law-giver, which, originating in an enlightened sense of the necessity of such reverence to the very existence of rational liberty, became in the better days of the Republic, by strength of habit, a second nature. Reverence for law—this is the very discipline which fits men for Republican institutions: it is the very corner-stone of the superstructure. One of the definitions of civil liberty makes it to consist not so much in actual exemption from wrongful and oppressive laws and acts, as in security from danger of such.

Civil liberty then is really gone whenever such law or act becomes *possible*, whether existing or not. This has been illustrated by a standard author by reference to the Act of Parliament under Henry VIII, which gave to the King's Proclamation the authority of law. That act was a surrender of the liberties of the Kingdom, whether or no any such proclamation had ever been issued, because the security

against tyranny was gone. So in this country it has been our sad experience that if the security afforded by respect for law be destroyed, then Republican government becomes but a name under which, as under that of liberty itself, the grossest abuses and wrongs may be perpetrated. The maxim that, "where there is no law, is no freedom," has the authority of a great name. No less true is the converse, that wherever freedom really has her home, *there* is law enthroned in majesty, receiving the willing homage of loyal subjects.

This being true, every particle of freedom lost becomes replaced by disregard of law, so that by the degree of this disregard maybe measured the amount of freedom lost: the end being complete substitution of "will for order and rule, of caprice for duty." Free government is but a compromise between the opposing principles of authority on the one hand, and individual independence, or freedom of action, on the other. The want of reverence for law springs from the unceasing contest between these. In order to reconcile them, the plan of constitutional limitations has been devised, whereby certain powers and actions are excepted from the control of the constituted authorities, and left to individual exercise: while the rest remain under the control of the community exercised according to law But these constitutional limitations become irksome when they obstruct the will of a majority, and when respect for them ceases, then that will becomes a "vulgar tyranny," trampling on manly independence of thought and action, and on the only freedom which deserves the name, the freedom to follow the right, and scorn the wrong. Compare our last decade with former periods. Whence disorganized industry, ill-administered justice, government lodged in incompetent hands, military rule in lieu of civil? Has not that which to-day was violation of law, become actual law to-morrow?—abuses which shocked at first, afterwards scarcely provoking remark!

Parchments and paper constitutions are but "the dress and paraphernalia of liberty, its holiday suit in times of peace

and quiet." For, "when the evil day comes," when the invasions of covetousness or of ambition begin, to what, I repeat, under institutions which do not recognize the principle of force, can the appeal be made but to respect for law as an established rule of action, upon the success of which appeal depends the continuance of the freedom claimed to be the fruit of those institutions. It was this enlightened love of freedom, a characteristic of the people of South Carolina, which made them jealous guardians of law and Constitution, and impatient under violations of them, whether for purposes of section or of party. And this is now the strength of their appeal to the government and the whole country for a return to respect for them as they were received from our fathers. And if, with advancing time, free government under Republican institutions shall continue, it will be, and will only be, because the peoples of these States shall have become convinced that loyalty to that cause which is ever on their lips, the cause of freedom, is irreconcilable with disloyalty to Constitutions and laws in which our forefathers embodied systems and principles derived from the ancient "rules and maxims of civil liberty, handed down" as precious heirlooms, from the early history of our race.

APPENDIX.

Since the delivery of the foregoing address, a volume has appeared entitled, "The Life and Letters of George Cabot, by Henry Cabot Lodge." Both these will be recognized as names of citizens of Massachusetts. The author is profuse in his praises of the Federal Party of the early days of the Republic. It is but just to add that he also acknowledges many of their faults and errors But whenever the Republican party is referred to, the well-known bias of the New

England mind strongly asserts itself. For this party, or for the South, there are no good words. My present purpose in referring to this book is to notice the additional and complete proofs it furnishes of the existence of a deliberate scheme of disunion in the North alluded to in the address, and also to draw attention to the affirmation, with entire approval, of certain political doctrines which perfectly justify the South and her action. The author, it is probable, little dreamed of such application of his utterances. They were confessions necessary to the defence he was making, but they are equally applicable to some other cases. Thus, on page 313, we read—"much as he (Mr Cabot) feared and disliked the policy of Mr Jefferson's administration, he was by no means prepared to take part in the scheme for a separation of the Union which was urged on him by his friend, Col. Pickering." On page 445 the plan is set forth in detail. Be it remembered that in the correspondence there is no word of discussion, or question on the part of any one, of the *right* to separate. Secession was a matter of *expediency* solely. Now why should an act which then was one of expediency only, or the contrary, assume in later times, under the same Constitution, the dark hue of treason or rebellion? Moreover it appears that the very cause which Mr. Cabot regarded as furnishing ground for separation, and of nature to render it practicable, was the cause affirmed by the South in 1860-61 to have intervened. In a letter dated 14 February, 1804, (page 341) Mr. Cabot writes—"The subject is as important as it is delicate, and has often occupied my thoughts. All the evils you describe (under the government) and many more are to be apprehended: but I greatly fear that a separation would be no remedy, because the source of them is in the political theories of our country and in ourselves. A separation at some period not very remote may probably take place. * * * At the same time that I do not desire a separation at this moment, I add that it is not practicable without the intervention of some cause, which should be very

generally felt and distinctly understood, as chargeable to the misconduct of our Southern masters; such for example as a war with Great Britain manifestly provoked by our rulers."

It is a fair inference from this, that Mr. Cabot considered separation as practicable *with* the intervention of a cause described as above. Now so it is that when the South separated, the conditions were fulfilled. For changing a single word, viz: substituting Northern for Southern, we may adopt his language and say that in 1860 there *was* intervention of a cause very generally felt (by all the Southern States) and distinctly understood to be chargeable to the misconduct of our Northern masters. Thus, "out of thine own mouth do I judge thee," might well be the answer of the South.

Mr. Lodge evidently felt this, and in order to avert a judgment from which even the most reckless might shrink, in view of the course pursued towards the South, he makes a laboured effort to discriminate between the case of the men he applauds and admires, and that of Southern men in 1860-61, so as to uphold and vindicate the former, and condemn the latter. Every reader must be struck by his utter failure; every one must feel that the words of approval he utters in the one case apply to the other. For the *rights* delegated to the General Government, and those reserved by the States were, in 1860, precisely what they were in 1809-1814. Yet while he not only exonerates from blame, but extols, his heroes, he ventured, Pharisee-like, to stigmatize similar conduct on the part of others as "blackest treason." There is but one explanation. The North from the beginning aspired to the control of the government, and to administering it according to Northern ideas. Failing in this, the Union had no charms, and separation was openly proclaimed by the dissatisfied as the natural and rightful resort. "The venerable Mr. Quincy had pronounced it the duty of the North 'to take possession of the government' and to administer it according to Northern opinions, 'at any hazard, even of the dissolution of the Union itself.'" (Lunt's Origin of

the War, p. 413.) But when in the course of time this possession had been acquired, and the North was growing richer and richer through the high tariffs imposed on the country, and the South finding the government administered without regard to the Constitution, to the benefit of the North solely, and to her own ruin, was in turn about to resort to the same remedy, then the Union became the dearest thing on earth, State rights became "words of evil omen," and separation "blackest treason."

But that the reader may himself judge of Mr. Lodge's defence of the New England disunionists, the passage shall be given entire. If a vindication of them, it is no less so of the seceders of 1860-61.

"But one word remains to be said before coming to the original documents. The tone in which the men of that day discussed the question of a dissolution of the Union is one that may well startle the present generation, which has passed through a great civil war in behalf of the Union, and has learned to consider the mere mention of separation as the blackest treason. The men who were prominent in 1804 regarded the separation of the States with no such feeling. It was a simple impossibility that they should do so." (The feelings of the South had become in 1860, by reason of its treatment, what we are here told were those of the North in 1804.) "They had most of them arrived at manhood before union was ever thought of. They had passed through the period of dissolution under the Confederacy. They had formed our present Union from pure motives of policy, and they regarded separation in exactly the same way. The individuality and separate existence of the States were quite as familiar to them as the conception of union, and the sentiment of nationality at that time was still in its infancy. They had looked upon the Union when it was formed as an experiment, and they continued so to regard it. They looked upon it as an arrangement which might or might not succeed, but whose maintenance was a mere question of policy. Nor was this

feeling confined to any section, nor to any party. It had less strength in New England than elsewhere, and this is what gives to the separatist movements in New England a peculiar importance and significance." (If this be true, it only strengthens the case of the South.) "But the separatist feeling was universal, and broke forth at various periods before 1804 in all parts of the country." (Not in South Carolina.) "The minority in national affairs, if they felt themselves oppressed, turned instinctively to the governments to which they had always been accustomed to look for protection and support. Thus all parties and all leaders during the first twenty-five years of our government, when defeated, and as they believed, oppressed, looked naturally to their States as their protectors, and were ready to take the ground that the experiment had failed, and that it would be wise to try something different. Schemes of separation therefore were treated and discussed as any extreme, but nevertheless perfectly conceivable, question of mere policy would be. The hard, matter-of-fact way in which men seventy-five years ago argued about the advantages and disadvantages of a dissolution of the Union, was as natural and proper, as it is for us to consider that question no longer an open one. To condemn them for the tone of their discussions on this matter would be as wholly unjust and unreasonable as it always is to brand individuals for the general opinions of any past age and society. The only rule here, as in any similar case, is not to try men by an abstract standard or by the ideas of posterity, until they have first been judged according to the standards and the ideas of the age in which they lived." pp. 400-1.

Mr. Lodge in thus attempting to explain or excuse the early secession proclivities of New England, was doubtless seeking some escape from the inconsistency into which she has fallen by maintaining of late consolidation doctrines, and by drawing the sword against secession. The attempt on his part is very feeble, and is not in accord with the facts of

history. The Union was *not* then spoken of as a matter of cold policy. We could quote from many high authorities to prove this. Every one will remember, for instance, Gen. Washington's farewell address. But it will be most appropriate here to refer to the fervent language in which Massachusetts ratified the Federal Constitution. "And acknowledging with grateful hearts the goodness of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe in affording the people of the United States, in the course of His Providence, an opportunity deliberately and peaceably, without fraud or surprise, of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution in order to form a more perfect Union, &c." No, when New England threatened on various occasions to secede, she knew that it was her right, and she designed, as she always has done, to promote her material interests irrespective of others. "State rights" are words familiar in Massachusetts as in South Carolina, as any one will see who will read the proceedings and debates of her Convention on the occasion of discussing and ratifying the Federal Constitution. In evidence of her jealousy on this subject, she proposed in these words what is in substance the 10th Amendment: "That it be explicitly declared that all powers not expressly delegated by the aforesaid Constitution, are reserved to the several States to be by them exercised."

Mr. Lodge would excuse his forefathers by claiming for them judgment according to the ideas of their age, but he implies that they were wrong according to the new lights, the "ideas of posterity." They would, we are sure, return no thanks for this sort of defence. Judged by their words and acts they would scorn the ideas of posterity referred to. But we wish to say here that these "ideas of posterity," though put forward when they conduced to the wealth and power of their advocates, have not altogether superseded the old ones. Nor will they—truth being immortal. In very late times as well as long ago the Northern people "have

looked to their States for protection" against what was displeasing to them. This, very natural and becoming in them, is heinous sin in Southern people. They mete not to themselves and to others with the same measure. For example—

Nullification.—On the part of South Carolina this was "black treason" (Mr. Lodge's phrase). Is the same stigma applied to the course of "most if not all of the Northern Legislatures, in passing those 'personal liberty bills,' which in spirit, and intent, and effect were in direct opposition to the Acts of Congress," (Lunt's Origin of the War, p. 217,) in other words, which nullified the Act?

Forcible Resistance to the United States.—It was "black treason" on the part of the South to resist the armed invasion of her territory. Was it so, too, when "in 1851, in Boston, a mob forcibly carried off a prisoner from the United States Court Room, while in custody of the officers of the Marshal, and took him beyond the jurisdiction of the Government?"* Or was this, in Mr. Seward's words, "confessing the obligations of the higher law?"

Secession, very recently, as well as "seventy-five years ago," did not rank with treason according to great Northern oracles: for instance, The New York Tribune, organ of the "radical wing" of the Republican party, in March, 1861, declared that the Southern States had "a moral right to form an independent nation." In February, 1861, Mr. Everett wrote: "To expect to hold fifteen States in the Union by force is preposterous."

We owe much to Mr. Lodge for the corroboration he has furnished of facts previously derived from others, and we take leave of him by saying that we almost forgive his inconsistencies in our thanks for the stout words in which he unintentionally defends the course and the political creed of South Carolina: only we demand that what he claims for Massachusetts be accorded to our State. He says, p. 526:

---

* Lunt.

"This I will say, that I honour and respect those Federalists who, believing as they did, shrank not from what they considered their duty to their State, to their party, and to themselves. The men of the Hartford Convention strove honestly to do their duty as seemed best in their eyes, and they need not fear the verdict of posterity.

"With the incidents of an awful civil war still fresh in our memories, we naturally turn from aught that savours of the separatist spirit, and State rights have long been esteemed words of evil omen. But let us not, therefore, forget that State rights are the great safeguards of our liberties. Let us remember when we judge the Hartford Convention, that resistance to oppression has been the peculiar glory of the English race. * * * While it is our duty to crush sectionalism in every form, it is no less our duty to guard the great Anglo-Saxon principle of local self-government."

Had such sentiments prevailed in the North, over the lust of power, in 1860-61, how different would have been the record for the last nineteen years, on the page of history! "State rights, the great safeguards of our liberties;" "resistance to oppression the peculiar glory of the English race;" "duty to guard the great Anglo-Saxon principle of local self-government"—these few, but pregnant phrases, epitomise the history of the Southern movement of 1860-61, and fully vindicate it.

Those to whom it thus appears to have been given to see the right just as the Southern people saw it, are estopped from pleading different views in justification of war. To them the words of the old poet apply:

———Video meliora, proboque;
Deteriora sequor———

well translated by one:

"I see and approve the Right, yet knowingly pursue the Wrong."—

Great indeed must be the arrogance which in the same breath exalts one's own, and condemns others for the same

act. To repeat what we have written elsewhere—when States rights are invoked by the North for self-protection, the cry is "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon;" when the same States rights are invoked by the South, also for self-protection, the cry is, "The wicked have drawn out the sword, and have bent their bow to slay such as be of upright conversation."

Mr. Lodge's volume was soon followed by another, also from a citizen of Massachusetts, entitled, "Documents relating to New England Federalism, 1800-15; edited by Henry Adams, Boston, 1877." It too contains abundant evidence of the disunion plans of many Federalists at the North, and of the advocacy of those plans by the press, by town meetings, &c. The testimony derived from these books is the more valuable, because claiming to be sober history, and not merely of political or polemic character. We beg to quote now a few passages from Mr. Adams's publication. DeWitt Clinton, in a speech in 1809, says: "It is perhaps known to but few, that the project of a dismemberment of this country is not a novel plan, growing out of the recent measures of government, as has been pretended. It has been cherished by a number of individuals for a series of years." Pp. 229-30.

Mr. Adams, while acquitting Mr. Otis of "a deliberate and determined design to dissolve the Union," yet adds "he was impelled by the force of *public opinion*," p. 230. Again he says—"That a secession from the Union and the formation of a new confederation was the main object for which the Hartford Convention was convened, was indeed far more extensively entertained than by those who thought that the time for a change was at hand. * * It was the object announced from the pulpit on a day of solemn fast for the war appointed by the government of Massachusetts, in July, 1812; it was the object urged in a long succession of sermons, newspaper essays and pamphlets for a series of years." But enough on this topic, though much more might be given.

In Mr. Adams's book may also be found numerous proofs that the political principles accepted by South Carolina, and acted on by her, were originally those of a large and respectable party at the North. Thus—"to those who think that each State is a sovereign judge, not only of its own rights, but of the extent of powers conferred upon the General Government by the people of the whole Union; and that each State, giving its own construction to the constitutional powers of Congress, may array its separate sovereignty against every act of that body transcending this estimate of their powers—to say of men holding those principles, that for the ten years from 1804 to 1814 they were intending a dissolution of the Union, and the formation of a new Confederacy, is charging them with nothing more than with acting up to their principles." p. 58. Again,

"The argument (of the final report of the Hartford Convention) against an immediate dissolution of the Union is an argument not of principle, but of expediency. The argument explicitly admits that a severance of the Union by one or more States, against the will of the rest, and in time of war, can be justified by absolute necessity; and the whole argument of the report on this topic is to show that the proof of the existence of this absolute necessity was not yet complete." Pp. 288, 289.

To the foregoing I add the testimony of another citizen of New England, Mr. Blaine, United States Senator from Maine. On a recent occasion in the Senate, (presentation of a statue of Wm. King, first Governor of Maine,) he said :* "Massachusetts was deeply hostile to the war (1812), and did all in her power to embarrass its prosecution. * * * The majority of the people of Maine regarded the attitude of Massachusetts toward the General Government during that struggle as thoroughly unpatriotic, if not treasonable. Participancy in the Hartford Convention, or any sympathy with

* Cong. Record, Jan. 23, 1878.

its proceedings, or its aims, was political death, and well nigh social ostracism to any man in Maine."

Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts—"Will the Senator tell us when and where Massachusetts, as a State, ever made an unpatriotic record, either in the war of 1812, or in the older war of the Revolution, or in any war which has followed? There have been individuals in Massachusetts, so there have been in Maine, who have not been patriots; but if Massachusetts ever made an unpatriotic record, the Senator from Maine, when he charges it, should tell us when and where."

Mr. Blaine—"I will tell you. I will tell you now and here. Massachusetts refused to pass, and tabled a resolution thanking one of her own naval officers for a victory, because it was gained in an unjust war. She refused to thank the admirable and gallant commander of the Horne for capturing the British man-of-war Peacock. That stands on your own legislative journals, if you want the record. I can give you more and graver instances, until the sun sets. And for a Senator from Massachusetts to rise here and pretend that his State did not bristle all over with unpatriotic records, going clear up to the verge of treason, and, in the opinion of some patriots of that day, stepping one point beyond it, is a degree of bravery which it would have been well to show in the war, and not reserve for this day. * * * Massachusetts refused to let her soldiers march beyond the boundaries of her own State, and refused pointedly to the General Government to respond to a call for her troops. It was volunteers from Maine that marched beyond the boundaries of Massachusetts. The militia that were under the control of your Governor refused to go, and were not permitted to go. There is another record for you."

Leaving the controversy about the troops to these sons of New England, the application to be made of all this history, many of the facts long suppressed, but now indisputable, is this: The "Compact" (this name for the Contitution, *alter idem*, is quoted from the preamble to the solemn and formal

act of assent and ratification of the Convention of Massachusetts, in 1788,) was precisely the same in 1860 as in 1804-1815. Whatever, therefore, were the constitutional rights of the States in the last mentioned period, were theirs also in the first mentioned. We have seen the doctrines and practice, not only of parties, but of Legislatures and officials in certain New England States in 1804-1815. Though opinions may have differed as to *policy* in the exercise of these State rights, the rights themselves were not questioned. The South had good ground to believe that her claim to the same rights, under the same Constitution, and likewise her claim to judge of the expediency of their exercise, could not be denied or contested. To brand then the exercise of them by her as rebellion, was egregiously insolent, and to wage war on her was egregiously criminal.

MEMOIR

OF

GEN. CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,

By Prof. F. A. PORCHER.

As I pass in review the history of South Carolina, and the illustrious men whose precepts, but still more whose examples made her what she was, I have always regarded Christopher Gadsden as one of the noblest of that noble band. His was the stern virtue which we were long taught to believe characterized the ancient Spartan, tempered by the mild influences of the modern Christian. He was, perhaps, what in our degenerate days would be called an impracticable man; that is, a man who could not bend from the dictate of principle to that of policy; and could, therefore, be neither a good party leader, nor even a good party man. He followed always the impulse of incorruptible honesty, and was the impersonation of the most exalted chivalry. Fear and favor were alike foreign to his nature. He respected himself, and reverenced his Creator. Duty had no more obedient follower; truth no more devoted servant. Enthusiastic even to rashness in the cause of American Independence, his capacious heart beat as keenly for the wrongs of Massachusetts as for the insults to Carolina. He served his whole country with his whole heart, and when he died, and his remains were committed to the keeping of his mother earth, she closed upon the noblest heart that ever beat with love for his country's virtues, or bled at witnessing the outrages which were heaped upon her devoted bosom.

More than seventy years have passed since he was removed

from the sight of man, and few memorials are left to record his acts. A meagre account of his life is to be found in the chapter of biographical notices in Ramsay's History of South Carolina, and tradition has preserved a few anecdotes. In essaying at this time to trace the history of his life, I cannot promise to add anything new. I can incorporate into the memoir some of the anecdotes, and a fortunate chance has put me in possession of some letters which shed a bright, but a transient light upon a portion of his history. While in this centennial year men are everywhere celebrating the praises of the dead of old times, no fitter theme can be selected for Charleston than Christopher Gadsden, and in the humble hope of reviving his memory, I offer to the Historical Society this contribution to the history of our State, as exemplified in the life of one of her illustrious sons.

Christopher Gadsden was born in Charlestown, in 1724. His father was Thomas Gadsden, a Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, and the King's Collector for the port of Charleston.

Sent to England for instruction, he received a classical education, to which he subsequently added a knowledge of some of the oriental tongues. Returning from England as a passenger on board a King's ship, the purser died, and Mr. Gadsden was appointed to take his place, and continued to hold it for about two years. He then left the service, and devoted himself to mercantile life, which he followed with great success in Charleston. Like many other merchants of this time and place, he was also engaged in the occupation of a planter. It was whilst engaged in these pursuits, that he constructed the wharf which still bears his name. This kind of architecture seems to have pleased him, and to have called out his mechanical powers. In 1776, when Gen. Lee insisted on the necessity of having a bridge from Sullivan's Island to Haddrell's Point, so as to furnish an escape for the troops under Moultrie and Thomson in case of disaster, Mr. Gadsden, then Colonel Gadsden, in command of Fort Johnson, undertook the work, and from his own resources and his own money, in a very few days, completed the desired work.

In 1759, when Governor Lyttleton made his expedition against the Cherokees, there was not a single field piece mounted in all Carolina. Mr. Gadsden, who was a member of the Legislature, obtained the passage of an Act for raising a company of artillery. He was appointed the captain of this company, and at the head of it accompanied the Governor into the Indian territory. This was the origin of what, after many changes and enlargements, was afterwards known as the Ancient Battalion of Artillery.

It is well known that the unwise conduct of Governor Lyttleton resulted in a peace so hollow, that at the very moment that the people of Charleston were giving him the honors of a triumphal entry on his return, hostilities more frightful than ever were recommenced in the interior. In 1761, a well ordered expedition, commanded by Colonel Grant, of the regular army, with a detachment of British troops, aided by the South Carolina militia under Colonel Middleton, effectually subdued the turbulent Cherokees, and gave peace to the country. I am not able to find Mr. Gadsden's name among the officers of this expedition. In Colonel Middleton's subordinates were Moultrie, Marion and Pinckney, who afterwards distinguished themselves in the war of the Revolution. It is more than likely that the artillery company was then under the command of its founder.

On a careful revision of the history of the country, before the outbreak of the war of the Revolution, it would seem that two causes were at work in the several colonies which harmonized with each other, and brought the North and South to act together. The question of taxation as such taken by itself was not sufficient to justify war, for surely, never was a people in Christendom so little disturbed by the tax collector. It is true that the conduct of our ancestors has been put on the lofty ground of principle. It was not the amount actually involved, but the possibilities of the future, which guided our statesmen. I doubt whether a prosperous people would ever exercise so much self-denial as

to hazard their prosperity because of a transient, and at the worst, rather vexatious stretch of power. The causes lay deeper than in this apparently lofty principle, and it pleased Providence to afflict England at that critical moment with an obstinate and conceited King, and vain and unwise Ministers. Had common sense governed the counsels of England, the epoch of colonial independence might have been indefinitely deferred.

England was using her colonies for her own purposes, and the fostering of her own industry. In the northern colonies she saw not only possible, but actual rivals in her own peculiar line of industry, and her jealousy was clearly shown by an order which limited the number of apprentices that any master workman in the colonies might entertain. The people of New England, therefore, had real causes of complaint against the mother country, and the British Government acted with consummate folly, when by the irritating and vexatious Writs of Assistance, followed by the greed of petty gain which proposed to raise a revenue by a tax on stamped paper, they gave the colonists a plausible ground for resisting both the tax and the harassing and vexatious restrictions which had restrained their social and industrial growth.

At the South the case was different; their productions fed the commerce of England, and soon were even encouraged by bounties. The restrictions on trade and industry were uncared for, because they conflicted with no private interests. South Carolina in particular was a pet of the mother country. In 1773, Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Boston, visited Charlestown and saw commercial activity, wealth and magnificence, which he did not believe to exist in America. In this harbor were upwards of three hundred and fifty vessels of merchants. The hospitality which he largely enjoyed, showed in every house luxury and wealth such as he had never conceived. At a concert of the St. Cecilia Society he saw upwards of two hundred and fifty ladies. The music of the concert was ravishing. Three members of the permanent band were

employed at a salary of five hundred guineas a year and another musician was occasionally employed at fifty guineas a month, and the people who enjoyed the means of indulging in such luxuries were going to hazard the loss of all for a petty tax on stamped paper, and a tax upon tea, a commodity probably unknown to nine-tenths of the people of the colony.

But there was another cause at work, one perhaps more potent over the actions of men, which co-operated with the tax, and fanned the flame of resistance; in fact gave energy and vitality to the tax. This was the habitual contempt with which American gentleman were treated whenever they had official intercourse with British officers, both civil and military. An order in council respecting the rank of American military officers was considered so outrageous to all manly self-respect, that Washington, who had struck the first blow in the great war known as the seven year's war, threw up his commission in disgust. If he served with Braddock, it was only as a volunteer. Braddock had the good sense to value the presence of such a man on his expedition, and earnestly solicited his company as a volunteer. It was his misfortune that illness prevented the volunteer from joining him until it was too late to save him. Colonel Middleton, of South Carolina, was hardly persuaded by Governor Bull to take service under Colonel Grant in the Cherokee war; and the Governor, himself a Carolinian, knowing by experience the insolent temper of the British officials, gave Colonel Middleton the extraordinary power of resigning his commission whenever he should please. It would be an unnecessary digression to dwell longer on that history here.

This spirit of insolence was most offensively manifested by Governor Thomas Boone to the whole Legislature of South Carolina, and Mr. Gadsden was, accidentally, an interested party in the transaction.

It had pleased Governor Boone to recommend an alteration of the election laws of the provinces. The Assembly, not

agreeing with the views of the Governor, made no change in the law. During the session, some time after the organization of the House, Mr. Gadsden presented himself for qualification as a member for St. Paul's. After his credentials were approved by the Assembly, he was, according to an old custom, sent to the Governor to take before him what was called the State oaths, viz: an oath of allegiance to the King, and an oath abjuring all cognizance of the right of the Stuart family. When he presented himself before the Governor, the latter not only refused to recognize him on account of the invalidity of his election, but dissolved the Commons House of Assembly for contumacy.

In thus determining against the validity of Mr. Gadsden's election, Governor Boone violated all parliamentary law, and established a personal despotism. Wherever a representative body is known to the law, it is invariably the final judge of the qualification of its members. In the next Assembly, which met in December of that year, 1762, Mr. Gadsden was again a member. The Assembly immediately protested against the illegality of the late dissolution, and as the Governor would make no concessions, they declared that they would transact no business with him until he should concede the just claims of the House; and this state of defiant hostility continued for two years, until Governor Boone, wearied with the contest, left the province and went home.

During this suspension of legislative business, he gave several exhibitions of petty and childish insolence which must have made a deep impression on a high-toned, generous and manly people. During this session, Sir John Colleton presented himself and claimed his seat. After his credentials were verified, he was sent to the Governor to take the State oaths, accompanied by Christopher Gadsden and William Moultrie, who were sent according to an old custom, first to certify to the Governor that the candidate had been duly elected, and then to certify to the House that they had witnessed the administering of the oaths to the new member.

Governor Boone demanded of Messrs. Gadsden and Moultrie what was their business there, and on being informed in what capacity they were there, replied that the Assembly had no right to intrude visitors upon him, rang the bell, and ordered the servant who answered it to conduct these gentlemen out of his house. Sir John Colleton was stopped, and, it is to be supposed, took the oaths. The indignation of the Assembly at this outrage offered to them through their members, may be conceived. At first they refused to permit Colleton to take his seat, inasmuch as none of their members had seen him take the oaths. They relented, however, so far as to permit him to testify in his own case. Some time afterwards, when Sir John Colleton and Mr. Parsons were sent to attend a new member for the same purpose, the Governor repeated the insult, with an additional outrage. He refused the testimony of these gentlemen, as to the election of the new member, saying that he would examine the roll and judge for himself.

Thus, now, were gentlemen, representatives of the people, who might be reasonably supposed to represent the most refined class of the people, rudely dismissed from the Governor's house, and their testimony refused as untrustworthy. Is it surprising that such gentlemen should eagerly catch at any opportunity for revenge which offered itself? And shall we be thought to diminish the lustre of their fame, when we impute to wounded pride the bold determination which they not long afterwards made to sever themselves entirely from a government which could with impunity thus recklessly insult them?

Whilst the petty and childish insults of Governor Boone were still rankling in the hearts of these gentlemen, the British Government unwisely gave them a palpable cause of complaint by the passage of the Stamp Act. The colonies were greatly excited by the passage of this Act, and the ferment exhibited itself in several of the Legislatures. The General Court of Massachusetts in June, 1765, issued a

circular letter to the several colonies, inviting them to meet each other by their deputies in New York, in the month of October following. In July the letter was discussed before the House of Assembly. After a long discussion, in which the call was supported by Mr. Rutledge, the subject was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Gadsden was chairman. The committee reported in favor of the proposed Congress, and Christopher Gadsden, John Rutledge, and Thomas Lynch, Sen., were elected to represent the colony. This action of the Assembly Mr. Bancroft regards as the founding of the American Union by South Carolina. "Massachusetts," he says, "sounded the trumpet, but to South Carolina is it owing that it was attended to. Had it not been for South Carolina, no Congress would then have happened. When we count up those who above others, contributed to the great result, we are to name the inspired madman, James Otis, and the great statesman, the magnanimous, unwavering, faultless lover of his country, Christopher Gadsden."

These are the words of Bancroft. The measure was supported by the eloquence of Rutledge, but it was the zeal of Gadsden which gave animation to the party of existence.

In a letter written thirteen years afterwards to Wm. Henry Drayton, he says: "No man in America ever strove more (and more successfully) first to bring about a Congress in 1765, and then to support it ever afterwards than myself." Northern writers are disposed, I know not why, to pass over the services of Rutledge, and ascribe merit in preference to any other claimant. I believe, however, that in this case, but bare justice has been done to Mr. Gadsden. There was at that time this difference between his position and that of Mr. Rutledge: the latter was earnest in hoping for a redress of grievances; the former even then looked forward to a severance of the tie which bound the colonies to the parent State.

The Congress of 1765 did little besides making the several

parts of America known to each other. Two of the delegates of South Carolina, Mr. Lynch and Mr. Rutledge, were at the head respectively of the committees to address, the one, the House of Lords, the other, the Commons of England. Here again, Mr. Gadsden gave an exhibition of his stubborn consistency. As a subject of the King, he would address him on the subject of the grievances of the people, but he would stoop to no petition to either House of Parliament. "The House of Commons," he said, "refused to receive the addresses of the colonies, when the matter was pending; besides, we hold our rights neither from them nor from the Lords," but he was induced at last to withdraw his opposition; for, said he, union is most certainly all in all.

It is known that if the action of the Congress was inoperative, the sturdy opposition of the people caused the repeal of the Stamp Act. From this time until the next Congress, in 1774, we find nothing to record of Mr. Gadsden. That he was diligently engaged in his private business we know, and also that he was generally a member of the Commons House of Assembly. In 1773, a very intelligent gentleman from Boston, Josiah Quincy, Jr., saw him one day in the House of Commons, and recorded a few words of a speech which is worth preserving as a photograph memorial of the man. In his journal of March 19th, 1773, Mr. Quincy says: "Spent all the morning in hearing the debates of the House; had an opportunity of hearing the best speakers of the Province. T. Lynch, Esq., spoke like a man of sense and a patriot, with dignity, fire and laconism. Mr. Gadsden was plain, blunt, hot and incorrect, though very sensible. In the course of the debate he used these very singular expressions for a Member of Parliament: 'And, Mr. Speaker, if the Governor and Council don't see fit to fall in with us, I say let the general duty law, and all, go to the devil, sir, and we go about our business.'"

It is but a glimpse of the earnest man—but it reveals a world of character—he was very unparliamentary, but he was very much in earnest.

We will not repeat the oft-told story of British taxation and American resistance. You remember that a scheme was cunningly devised by which the people would be enticed to drink their tea and pay the obnoxious duty. Alarmed at the prospect of seeing a whole people recreant to their pledges by the allurement of cheap tea, the leaders of the revolutionary movement organized resistance throughout the country against this insiduous measure. In many places, in this city among others, the tea was openly put away for destruction. In Boston a party of disguised men went by night to the wharf where the tea laden vessels were lying, took out the accursed thing and cast it into the sea. The open and undisguised resistance met with no rebuke; but as all attempts to discover the Boston rioters were baffled, the ministry lost their temper, and, in an unguarded moment, annulled the charter of Massachusetts, and closed the port of Boston, making all commerce with that city a punishable offence.

This high handed act of oppressive vengeance acted through the whole country like an electric spark. All felt that the cause of disfranchised Massachusetts was the common cause. At the call of New York, a Congress of the colonies met in Philadelphia, in September, 1774. The representatives from South Carolina were chosen by a general vote of the citizens. The first measure of resistance which suggested itself was a general non-importation and non-exportation agreement. This was opposed by the mercantile interest generally and two sets of candidates were presented to the voters. Representatives of each were elected—Mr. Gadsden, Thomas Lynch, and Edward Rutledge, representing the extreme party; Henry Middleton and John Rutledge the moderate party. Mr. Gadsden and J. Rutledge were respectively the representatives, the first of the extreme party for resistance the latter long continued to hope for a restoration of the old pleasant relations with England by a redress of grievances. The former was even before this time anxious for independence, the latter came very slowly and very reluctantly into

the measure. As the delegates elected represented the two parties, it was agreed that no motion or resolution of the Congress should be binding upon the colony, unless it was agreed to by the deputies of the colony. They went to the Congress unpledged, uninstructed. The people had perfect faith in their patriotism and their wisdom.

It was desired to give the delegates an official sanction by legislative action; but Gov. Bull had always kept a strict eye over the House of Assembly, and invariably prorogued it whenever he thought it was treading on dangerous ground. On the present occasion it had been prorogued to the second of August. It was an old custom of the House to meet at 10 o'clock but now all business had been secretly arranged, and at 8 o'clock the members were in their seats; a message was sent to the Governor, to inform him of their organization, and they instantly adopted two resolutions, one approving and confirming the election of the five gentlemen whom the people had chosen, and another providing for the expense of their voyage. The Governor, informed of the unusual meeting of the House, instantly sent for them to prorogue them. But he was too late. In less than half an hour the House had met, resolved, and was prorogued.

In this Congress we find Mr. Gadsden always acting with those who were foremost in leading on the revolution. Nay, he may be said to have been the foremost. Fancying that war was inevitable, he wished to secure to his country all the advantages possible, and he urged upon the Congress the expediency of attacking Gen. Gage in Boston at once and defeating him before he could gain reinforcements. He was described by some of the members as "if possible, worse than ever; more violent, more wrong-headed."

The non-importation and non-exportation agreement was passed, with an exception in favor of Carolina rice. Mr. Rutledge gave good and satisfactory reasons for this exception, but Mr. Gadsden stood alone in his opposition to it, and even on his return home made efforts to have the excep-

tion rescinded. Interest and expediency were powerless with him when principle was involved.

When the delegates returned home the subject of the exception of rice from the non-intercourse agreement was discussed, and Mr. Gadsden earnestly moved that the exception be repealed. But Mr. Rutledge insisted that the exception was the only means by which the North and the South could be placed an an equality of suffering in the non-intercourse measure of resistance. It is, perhaps, on account of his speech on that occasion, that he has ever since been made the object of relentless criticism by a certain party at the North. He said "that he was in favor of immediate non-intercourse, but the Congress, in their wisdom, had postponed it until the following September. That the Northern trade would be but little affected by the association, and he saw no reason why ours should be ruined. It was evident, he said, that the colonies were less intent to annoy the mother country in the matter of trade, than to preserve their own trade; so he thought it but justice to his constituents to preserve to them their trade as entire as possible."

It is very remarkable that this language should have been used respecting the different positions of the North and the South, not only by those who were founding the Union, but at the very moment the work of union was going on.

The exception was retained by the Assembly, but Mr. Gadsden, though overruled in this matter, does not seem to have lost the confidence of his constituents. He and Mr. Rutledge were both returned to the Congress of 1775.

Before that Congress met, the Revolutionary War had commenced in the skirmish at Lexington, and the Provincial Congress immediately set about organizing the military force of the province. In pursuance of this organization, Mr. Gadsden was elected Colonel of the First Regiment of Foot, and William Moultrie of the Second. Both these gentlemen had seen service in the Cherokee War, and though elected on the same day, Colonel Gadsden was the senior of Colonel

Moultrie, and on his return home to serve his country in the army, he assumed the command of all the forces of the province. It appears by a note in Moultrie's Memoirs, that he assumed the command in February, 1776.

In March, of that year, it was found absolutely necessary to establish civil government in South Carolina; the Provincial Congress, therefore, adopted a Provisional Constitution, under which John Rutledge was elected President of South Carolina. It was thus that the call of the citizens for their services at home, deprived Gadsden and Rutledge, her two most eminent citizens, of the distinction of enrolling their names among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Early in June, General Charles Lee arrived in Charleston, and assumed the general direction of military affairs. Colonel Gadsden's post was at Fort Johnson. Colonel Moultrie was stationed at a point on Sullivan's Island, which commanded the entrance into the harbor, and Colonel Thomson at the northeast of the island, to prevent the landing of troops from Long Island. It is well known that General Lee looked upon the tenure of Sullivan's Island as a desperate measure, and but for the obstinacy of President Rutledge, he would have drawn off the troops. He insisted upon the necessity of a bridge across the north channel, so that the troops might retreat to the mainland if necessary. This work was accomplished, at his own expense, by Colonel Gadsden. The successful defence of the island, by Colonel Moultrie and Lieutenant-Colonel Thomson, deprived Colonel Gadsden of any participation in the honors of the 28th of June. During the calm which followed the storm of war, we have little to record. Both Colonels were soon afterwards taken into the Continental Service, and commissioned as Brigadier-Generals. In August, 1777, General Gadsden resigned his commision, and served his country afterwards entirely in civil life.

The accidental preservation and discovery of a small letter book shed a ray of light upon both his own history and that of the State during the years 1777 and 1778, and with this

precious relic before one it is very hard to resist the temptation to make full copies of his letters.

The resignation of General Gadsden, and the duel which arose out of it between him and General Howe, is an episode in the lives of both these gentlemen of so remarkable a character, that one who undertakes to give the history of General Gadsden's life can scarcely refuse to narrate it. With every disposition to see General Gadsden always right, I am constrained to say that in this matter he appears to me to have been wrong. But he was, if I may so express myself, gloriously wrong. In the annals of private warfare there was never exhibited such pure chivalry, such perfect devotion to the point of honor as was shown by him on this occasion. Major André, who seems to have had a keen sense of humour, amused himself and the public by a humorous ballad on the occasion of the duel; but though the British officer laughed, he could not but show the profound respect with which he was inspired by the high and gallant bearing of the two gentlemen who furnished food for his mirth. The account of the meeting deserves to be studied by those persons who in these modern times have converted the chivalrous settlement of the point of honor into a barbarous and sanguinary riot.

The origin of the dispute lay in the unsettled relations between the States and the Congress. When General Lee arrived in Charleston, in June, 1776, the general direction of military affairs was committed to him, but the Executive relinquished none of his rights as Commander-in-Chief. Thus President Rutledge wrote to General Moultrie: "General Lee wishes you to evacuate the fort. You will not, without an order from me, and I would sooner cut off my right hand than write one."

Not long after the action of Fort Moultrie, General Lee left Charleston for his mad expedition against Florida. He had Howe and Moultrie in his army. Colonel Gadsden was probably left in defence of the city. Lee had not proceeded

further than Savannah when an express called him to join Washington at the North; he obeyed the order, went North, and immediately entered upon that course of capricious opposition to the Commander-in-Chief which resulted in his ridiculous capture by a scouting party of the British army. On his return through Charleston he left General Moore in command, with a body of North Carolina troops. Moore was succeeded by Nash, and on his departure, General Howe, the senior officer, assumed the command. He was from North Carolina, and by his own account well connected in both the Carolinas. On the 29th October, 1776, he published in orders the promotion of Colonels Gadsden and Moultrie to the rank of Brigadier-General, and assigned to them their respective commands, that of General Gadsden being on Sullivan's Island. On the 23rd August, 1777, General Gadsden resigned his commission into the hands of General Howe. Unfortunately, while General Gadsden has preserved for us General Howe's report of the affair, he did not take the same pains to preserve his reply to General Howe. He had a profound reverence for the Congress, and it was this reverence which induced him to send his resignation to General Howe, and not as many other aggrieved officers had done—directly to Congress. He supposed that some inquiry would be made by the Congress as to the cause of his resignation, and he was hurt at its being received without any comment. As he was in a manner the originator of the Congress, he felt that his resignation ought not to have been accepted without his being allowed an opportunity of vindicating himself. He wrote often and confidentially to his friend, Wm. Henry Drayton, and through him received in June, 1778, a copy of Howe's letter to Congress. To this letter the General replied in a letter dated July 4, to Wm. Henry Drayton, a copy of which was sent to General Howe. This letter, in his subsequent correspondence, he refers to continually as a Public letter, and perhaps it was because he so considered it, that he took no pains to preserve it. Unfor-

tunately. Mr. Drayton did not so consider it, and made no effort to publish it among the members of Congress. This letter was the cause of the duel between the two Generals.

General Howe says that about four months before the date of his letter, that is about May 1, after he had been more than six months in undisputed command of this post, General Gadsden desired to know by what right he commanded, and claimed that he himself was the natural commander in South Carolina. General Howe explained to him his right, and showed the error into which General Gadsden had fallen, respecting conflicting claims of right. On the request of the latter that the matter be referred to Congress, General Howe replied that as he had no doubt respecting his own right, he would express none, but if the other desired it he would communicate those doubts to Congress as his, and this was assented to. At a subsequent interview, a few days afterward, General Howe was led to believe that General Gadsden was now satisfied as to his right, and the letter was not written. One day in August they met at the house of President Lowndes, and General Gadsden inquired whether the letter had been written as had been agreed, and on General Howe replying in the negative, and giving his reasons for not having done it, he said that the matter should be brought before the House of Assembly. A motion was accordingly made shortly after by Wm. Henry Drayton, to inquire into the nature of General Howe's command in this State. The motion was, in my opinion, very properly rejected, and General Gadsden immediately resigned his commission into General Howe's hands. This is a brief of General Howe's letter, and I do not believe there was any statement in it, which General Gadsden contradicted. The rest of the story shall be told in his own words :

"On the 11th of August I received by the General's Aide-de-Camp a long, expostulatory letter, dated two days before, with a demand for satisfaction at the close, unless I made him reparation for the expression I had made use of,

relative to him in my letter of the 4th of July. I wrote for answer next morning, that, I was ready to give him any satisfaction he thought proper, when, and where he pleased. That I thought him the aggressor in having wrote such an unnecessary detail of that matter in it, omitting my principal objection, and especially for not letting me, whom it so nearly concerned, have a copy of it, and that he had nobody to blame but himself—that I never saw his detail, which had such immediate effect, for ten months after the date of it. Three letters from him and two from me passed before the matter came to a point. In his, he gave me assurance that he did not mean in anything he said to reflect upon or injure me, and as to the breach of promise I accused him of, he declared he really understood me as he had set forth, so that if there was a fault, his understanding, and not his integrity, was to blame; and had he imagined I wished to see his letter, he should most cheerfully have sent it to me; that he had not the least wish to conceal it from me. My friends, Colonel Elliott and Colonel Horry, who were the only persons who had the least hint of this affair from me, seemed to think this a great concession, and required some notice or apology on my side, and our friend, Colonel Pinckney, who was the General's second, appeared to be of the same opinion. But I, looking upon it only as private and personal to me; and whereas the expressions of me, he particularly referred to, (of my letter to you) related to the manner of a public act, his getting as it seemed to me, in command here, and as I did not see how it was possible, with any kind of propriety or adherance to truth, to abstract the private letter from the public, I determined to make no concession, but to meet him in any manner he pleased. Accordingly we met on the 30th, and were placed at the distance of eight very small paces. As the General demanded satisfaction of me, and I had already taken mine by exposing his letter, with my observations thereon, I was determined to receive his fire, which I accordingly did—after some time, fired my pistol broad

off, and called him to fire again, which he declined. The matter thus being over, I thought the apology, or rather the notice my friends seemed to think due on his concessions, would come in with propriety. I therefore told him that though I might perhaps mention the matter again, yet he might be assured that I shall never *in future*, make use of any harsh exposures concerning him."

This narration, compiled from original sources, shows that Dr. Johnson was in error in stating in his Traditions of the Revolution that the duel arose out of strictures by General Gadsden of Howe's conduct of the Florida expedition. I will supplement this account of the matter with an extract from the South Carolinian and American General Gazette, dated Charleston September 3, 1778. This report needs no comment from us, and I would commend it to the attentive perusal of those gentlemen who, in modern times, have lost sight of the high principle involved in the duel, and converted it into a means of bloodthirsty revenge:

"After the Generals met and courteously saluted each other, General Howe desired his second to acquaint his friends, in case he should fall, that it was his earnest request they should not prosecute General Gadsden beyond the formality of a trial; and General Gadsden desired both the seconds to acquaint his friends, in case he should fall, that he entirely forgave General Howe, and earnestly begged them not to prosecute him; and he particularly enjoined Colonel Pinckney to charge his son not to intermeddle in the affair at all. General Howe's second then stepped off the distance fixed upon by him and Colonel Elliott—eight short paces—and the Generals being placed, Colonel Elliott said: Gentlemen, we have marked out your distance, and leave you to act as you please, not doubting but that, as this is an affair of honor, you will act consistently with the strictest rules of honor. General Howe then said to General Gadsden, 'Fire, sir.' General Gadsden said, 'Do you fire first.' General Howe replies, 'We will both fire together.' General Gads-

den made no answer, but both presented. There was a pause for a few seconds, and General Howe lowered his pistol and said, with a smile, 'Why won't you fire, General Gadsden?' General Gadsden replied, 'You brought me out, General Howe, to this ball-play, and ought to begin the entertainment.' General Howe fired, and missed. General Gadsden, after a short interval, fired his pistol over his left arm, about at right angles from General Howe, and then called out to General Howe to fire again. General Howe smiled, and at the same time dropping his hand, with the pistol in it, said, 'No, General Gadsden, I cannot, after this.' General Gadsden's second said he was glad to see so much honor in the General; that he did not think General Gadsden could have made a handsomer apology, or General Howe have shown a higher sense of honor than in acting as he had done. Then General Gadsden went up to him and said: 'Now, General Howe, I will mention to you what I could not do before, as my letter was a public one, and the words contained in it seemed to me proper; and as yours was a private one, the parts in it which, in the opinion of my friends, left an opening for an apology, I could not take notice of: but I told my friend in the carriage, before I came on the ground, that I intended to receive your fire: and though I may, perhaps, talk this matter over again, I assure you I shall never in future make use of any harsh expressions concerning you.' General Howe said it was very agreeable to him that the matter terminated in this way, and he was happy that he had missed him. General Gadsden's second said he hoped now the differences that had occasioned this duel might now subside, and be left on that spot. The Generals, then, in token of this reconciliation, shook hands and parted."

The letters which have been my guide in the history of this duel show General Gadsden during the same year as a magistrate; and we still find the same indomitable courage in the discharge of duty, the same high regard for principle, and the same respect for law and authority, which marked every incident of his life.

It must be remembered that in March, 1776, the Provincial Congress established a Provisional Constitution for the government of the province during the continuation of the unhappy disputes with the parent country. Under this Constitution, John Rutledge was elected President, and Henry Laurens Vice-President of South Carolina. In March, 1778, the Legislature enacted a new Constitution, and submitted it to the President for his approval. Mr. Rutledge refused to approve of it, and returned it to the Legislature with his reasons. It is out of our province to examine these reasons. Some cavillers have inferred from a part of his speech that he still hoped for a reconciliation with Great Britain. Of this calumny his subsequent history is a sufficient refutation. In order that the Legislature might have free liberty of action, his veto message contained, also, his resignation. As the Vice-President, Mr. Laurens, was, at that time, President of the Continental Congress, it was necessary to elect entirely new executive officers. Mr. Rawlins Lowndes was elected President, and General Gadsden Vice-President, and ex-officio chairman of the Privy Council. I said at the outset that he must have been a bad party man. Here we have a little proof of it from his own pen. In one of his letters to Mr. Drayton he asserts that this honor was conferred upon him for the purpose of getting rid of him at future meetings of the House of Assembly, and to make him ineligible to the next. He says: "I saw plainly their views, but could not avoid accepting without throwing the State into confusion. But this I did not do without letting them know I plainly perceived their motives."

Towards the end of March, 1778, the Legislature had passed an ordinance exacting an oath of fidelity and allegiance, imposing severe penalties upon those who should refuse or neglect to take it by a certain day. Like all severe acts, it was imperfectly executed. The time had expired, and there were many delinquents. At the suggestion of the General Congress and the Privy Council, President Lowndes issued a

proclamation to extend the time for taking the oath. This act of indulgence gave rise to scenes which betrayed the weakness of the government, and the existence in the city of a power superior to the law. Whether the proclamation was printed, I know not. I do not find it in the gazettes of the day, but there is extant a letter from Governor Gadsden who, in consequence of the illness and domestic affliction of Mr. Lowndes, was discharging Executive business to Mr. Timothy, making an earnest appeal to him to print fifty copies. This letter savours more of a petition, asking a favor, than the order of a Magistrate, for the performance of work. The rest of the story is best told in General Gadsden's own words: "It (the proclamation) was scarcely got into the Sheriff's hands, before some myrmidons alarmed the town. We were setting up a proclamation against law—going to ruin their liberties—and what not? The proclamation, I believe, was never read. A deputation was sent to the President, of Dr. Budd, and some others. The proclamation was returned to him in my presence, which of itself is insult enough, but besides that, the spokesman, Ward, told the President that he thought the people were right, and that he would lose the last drop of his blood to support them. This, I thought, so high an insult, that I immediately began with Ward, sarcastically applauded his heroism and great exertions for the public good. In return he told me I was a madman, but first took care to sneak out of my reach, however. Had he not, I should have done nothing more, as I was prepared—than what I did—laugh in his face.

The President did all that he could do, but to no purpose. A meeting was called in the evening, Dr. Budd put in the chair, every press prohibited from printing the proclamation, and the magistrates deterred from granting certificates to the penitent. At this crisis, I, Don Quixote Secundus, who had never acted the magistrate before, gave out publicly that I would give out the oath of fidelity, and certificates to all applicants by the 10th, and accordingly did to many. I was

in the midst of the people when I found them chiefly a mere mob, with here and there some who ought not to have been, and I was sorry to see there; and had reason to suspect that day much negative impulse. I told them I advised the measure, and that they should put a halter around my neck and hang me at once, if they thought it wrong. That they had a constitutional remedy. They might impeach the President and Council if they had acted improperly, and that they had better do that. But all to no purpose. In my opinion, if they were not set on, the old leaven was at heart, sorry for it."

General Gadsden further on intimates that the parties engaged in the riotous opposition to the President were ashamed of their conduct. But certain it is, that the President was successfully resisted by a mob, and the proclamation was not published. The truth was, that the people were never satisfied with the resignation of President Rutledge, and their feelings were shown in factious opposition to his successor. In September the Legislature met, and President Lowndes sent in his message an account of the riots in opposition to his proclamation. The House of Assembly seemed to be unwilling to deal with the subject, and after the lapse of a month, referred it to the consideration of the next House: that is, to one which, according to the Constitution, would be elected in the following January. Whereupon General Gadsden wrote the following letter to the Hon. Thomas Bee, Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly, October 5, 1778:

"Dear Sir: The Honorable House, thinking proper, after after having had his Excellency, the President's message, relative to his proclamation of the 5th of June, and the outrageous treatment it met with from a part of the people of Charleston, a month before them, to postpone the matter to the next House, in parliamentary language, *ad Græcas Calendas*, considering the part I acted, in earnestly advising that step, in which I am conscious of having done nothing

improper, I submit it to the House, how they think I must feel, after such, at least negative censure, especially after the deliberately gross treatment the Executive received from a body of men, mentioned in no part of the Constitution, as I can recollect, who call themselves the Hint Club.

The contemptible, surprising and useless situation with regard to the public, I find myself reduced to, upon this occasion, lays me under the necessity of entreating you to request the Honorable House, for the public sake as well as my own, to deliver me from it by accepting my resignation as Vice-President. It may not be proper for me, perhaps, to let my feelings carry me further; am therefore resigned to stop here, if sir, you think my particular reasons following too free, or will give offense to the House, which I would be sorry to be thought capable of intending. But if you judge not, and the House will bear with the remonstrance of an old and faithful servant, I shall then be obliged to you to lay them before them."

The letter is very long, and must not be quoted at length. It fully justifies Mr. Quincy's description of his style as plain, blunt, hot and incorrect, though very sensible. He begins by avowing himself the adviser of the proclamation, then shows the evil of mob law, and its inevitable tendency to degrade and nullify the legitimate government. He refers casually as to a thing well known to the circumstances which led to his election as Vice-President, and the reasons which induced him to accept it, and he concludes with this touching and manly defence of his whole life: "I have had, without asking or soliciting any man's vote, directly or indirectly, the honor to serve my country for many years in various stations, always totally devoted to that particular part occasionally allotted to me—never quitting it while the least hope remained of having that necessary support the station required. Zealous and attentive in all to the honor of the public and their nearest concerns; unbiased either by friend or foe—intimidated by none—constantly attending to my

duty while a member of Assembly—making no promises, but always akeeping myself disengaged upon every question for every officer whatever wanted for any department of the State or concerning any other matter of moment, 'till it came before the House, and then voted according to my own judgment for the good of the whole, always thinking it cowardly to leave the House on a division upon any question whatever, unless it merely concerned myself, or I really did not understand the terms it was put in. Seldom, upon making a motion, have I previously secured a second, but more than this I always looked upon as caballing, warping men's judgments, and a kind of treason against, or at best pitifully and dirtily crimping for the State; and if I now, towards the close of a long, disinterested and laborious service, ask any favor, either of individuals or the public in general, let it be only to be looked upon as a citizen detesting licentiousness, and totally devoted to the cause of equal constitutional liberty, religious and civil to all, governor and governed, and having not a desire (and who never had ?) for himself and family in these respects, that he does not, from the bottom of his soul, wish for every honest man in the State, and indeed in all the world.

Believe me, sir, the exquisite feelings arising from a consciousness of having acted in this steady, uniform manner in public life, has made me more than ample amends for every neglect, every disagreeable circumstance it has occasioned through selfish, ambitious, arbitrary, and designing men, whose private views have been occasionally thwarted thereby. I have served with pleasure under the President, and witness to his indefatigable attention to the public interest, not only in his present, but in several other important stations, on very trying occasions; have long and well known his honest, sensible heart, and fixed attachments to the public good, feel extremely for his delicate situation, and most earnestly wish, for my country's sake, that he had that support he so much merited from every good and honest man in the State,

and to which, as a private citizen, I am hopeful to contribute my mite. In a public station, as times go, I can afford none. Give leave to conclude, with declaring that had I not thus shown my public resentment in the strongest manner I am able, against the proceedings justly represented by the President in his message of the 3rd of September, I should have ever thought myself accountable for all the riots and mobs throughout the State that may happen in consequence of that which happened in Charlestown, the 5th of June, and as having abetted the artful opposers and disturbers of the peace by negatively, at least, assisting them in their indirect, underhanded practicings in the weakest part of the Constitution, the present allowed disproportion of members, in order to throw all into confusion, and when an opportunity serves, get the whole new modelled more to their *gout*, and as sacrificing the duty I owe as officer to the whole State, to the idle tickling of a momentary popularity with a too assuming small part."

Without pretending to decide the merits of the controversy between the President and General Gadsden and the House of Assembly, I take pleasure in recording that the latter body was composed of gentlemen. Not only were they not aggrieved at the rebuke which the Vice-President administered to them, but they unanimously sent a deputation to entreat him to withdraw his resignation. An extract from a letter to Mr. Drayton will explain his conduct, and conclude the history of this affair: "The House met according to adjournment, very few members indeed: the President made a very proper and spirited representation of the behavior of the mob in Charleston on the 5th of June, which mob was ostensibly on account of his proclamation, but really (as I am verily persuaded) artfully stirred up and set a going by a cabal. The House, after having it before them a month, through the influence of the town members, put it off to the next House. In the meantime, the President and Privy Council are to put up with the insult. I was much afraid

Mr. Lowndes would have resigned, which would have put the State into great confusion, and would have given the party, who were hopeful that officers would not have been found to set the new Constitution a going, the utmost pleasure. The resignation of the Council would have done the same: as for my part, as Vice-President, and a new election so near at hand, I thought my resignation could be of little moment to the State, and at the same time thinking it would be of some good consequence, that some part of the Executive should show a feeling upon so monstrous an insult as they received; I thought myself in a manner peculiarly called upon to do it, from my station, and accordingly wrote the within letter to the Speaker, which was laid before the House, who, I thought, would have accepted my resignation immediately. However, I was mistaken, for they did me the honor unanimously to send two members to desire I would continue. This I could not refuse, therefore still remain in *statu quo*, and am not without reason to think my letter has done some good that may appear in future."

In January, 1779, the Legislature met in pursuance of the provisions of the new Constitution In the same month John Rutledge was elected Governor, and Thomas Bee Lieutenant Governor. At what time General Gadsden was elected to the latter office does not appear, but it was probably in 1780, when Thomas Bee was sent to Congress, and the approach of the invading English army caused the Legislature to adjourn, after having conferred upon Governor Rutledge those extraordinary powers which have since given him the title of Dictator. It may be observed, in passing, that this extraordinary power, conferred by the Legislature, is a sufficient reply to those malignant cavillers who see in Rutledge's veto of the Constitution a longing to go back to British rule, and in his parley with General Prévost, in 1779, a treasonable attempt to effect the same object.

Whilst the siege of Charleston was going on, General Lincoln pressingly urged Governor Rutledge to leave the town

with the whole of his Council, thinking that the civil authority of the State would be more advantageously executed in the country than in the besieged metropolis, and that thus the Executive authority might be preserved, even if the Capital should fall—that the citizens in the country should not conceive themselves deserted in the hour of danger. In pursuance of this advice, Governor Rutledge left Charleston April 12, 1780, with three of the Privy Council. Lieutenant Governor Gadsden, with the other five, remained, to await the issue of the siege. A month afterwards, May 12, Lincoln surrendered his army, and by the terms of capitulation, Lieutenant Governor Gadsden, together with all others who held any civil authority, were held as prisoners of war on parole.

It is needless to say that General Gadsden, though a prisoner, was firm to the cause of independence. Though restrained by their paroles from doing anything injurious to the cause of His Britannic Majesty, yet the silent example of himself and others who fell with him, men who were revered by their fellow-citizens, had a powerful influence in restraining many from exchanging their paroles as prisoners, for the protection and freedom of British subjects. After the unsuccessful attempt of General Gates to relieve the State, Lord Cornwallis regarded it as a conquered province, and utterly violated the terms of the capitulation. On the 27th August, General Gadsden, most of the civil officers of the State, and some others, whose attachment to the cause of the Revolution was conspicuous, were taken early in the morning from their beds and their houses, and escorted by armed parties to the Exchange, whence they were sent to a guard ship, and a few days afterwards to St. Augustine.

This was a gross violation of the capitulation. General Moultrie, from his quarters in Christ Church Parish, whither he had been assigned on parole, wrote to Colonel Balfour to protest against the outrage; to which the commandant replied, that his letter was written in such exceptionable and

unwarrantable terms, that it should not be answered. Nothing daunted by this repulse, the General made another effort in behalf of the unfortunate prisoners, to which he received a verbal answer, that the commandant would do as he pleased with the prisoners, for the good of His Majesty's service, and not as General Moultrie pleases.

On their arrival at St. Augustine, the prisoners were offered the liberty of the town on their parole. This General Gadsden indignantly refused to give. "I gave my parole once," he said, "and it has been shamefully violated by the British Government; I shall not give another to people on whom no faith can be reposed." He was told that a dungeon would be the alternative. "Be it so," he answered, "I give no more paroles to British officers." The next day he was confined in a dungeon of the castle, where he remained forty-two weeks. A common soldier, honoring the invincible firmness of the hero, offered to supply him with light—for he was allowed no other light but that of day, as this was contrary to orders, the General refused to accept the offer. Among other objects to which he devoted his enforced leisure was the study of the Hebrew tongue, and he came out of the dungeon a more learned man than when he entered it.

British severity did not deny them books, but the prisoners were studiously kept misinformed respecting affairs at home.

The prospects of America were brightening, but they were led to believe that ruin was hanging over them. They were threatened with being called upon to expiate the death of Major André. They patiently endured all threats and outrages, and not one sued for British protection.

After ten months of seclusion, General Gadsden was liberated, and sent with his fellow-prisoners to Philadelphia. So strictly had they been kept in ignorance of the progress of the war, that it was not until they reached Philadelphia that they heard of Greene's successful campaigns, after the disastrous defeat of Gates. General Gadsden hastened home to

assist in recovering South Carolina from the British, and was immediately elected a member of the Legislature, which met in Jacksonboro, 1782. Governor Rutledge laid down his office before the Legislature, and General Gadsden was elected to the vacant place. He declined the honor, however, saying :

"I have served you in a variety of stations for thirty years, and I would now cheerfully make one forlorn hope on an assault on the lines of Charleston, if it was probable that with the certain loss of my life you would be reinstated in your capital. What I can do for my country, I am willing to do. My sentiments for the American cause, from the Stamp Act downward, have never changed. I am still of opinion that it is the cause of liberty and of human nature. If my acceptance of the office of Governor would serve my country, though my administration would be attended with the loss of personal credit and reputation, I would cheerfully undertake it. The present times require the vigor and the activity of the prime of life; but I feel the increasing infirmities of age to such a degree, that I am conscious I cannot serve you to advantage. I therefore beg that you would indulge me with the liberty of declining the arduous trust."

He was indulged in his request. But though he declined the office of Chief Magistrate, he continued to serve the State both in the Assembly and in the Council. Notwithstanding the long confinement which he had suffered in the castle of St. Augustine, and the immense loss of property which the war had caused him, he was one of the few who, in the Jacksonboro Legislature, opposed the bills for confiscating and amercing the estates of those who had opposed the Revolution. In December of that year he had the satisfaction of witnessing the departure from Charleston of the British fleet and army, and the consequent restoration of the whole State to the government of her own citizens. From this time forward his life was devoted to private pursuits, except in two cases. In 1788 he was a member of the Con-

vention which ratified the Constitution. To this object, all the aspirations of his life were devoted. He had, in 1765, founded the American Union by his exertions in the Provincial Assembly, and he had the pleasure, twenty-three years afterwards, to assist in ratifying it by an Act which he fondly hoped would make that Union perpetual. In 1790 he was a member of Convention which formed the new Constitution of the State. He was now sixty-six years of age, and he lived fifteen years longer a private citizen, with the good old man's blessing—love, honor, obedience, troops of friends. In August, 1805, an accidental fall deprived him of life.

In compliance with the instructions contained in his will, his body was deposited in the family cemetery, in the western church yard of St. Philip's, and the grave levelled—no stone marks the spot of his final resting place.

In reviewing the history of a country, we remember those only who have done deeds that fire the imagination of the historian. Brilliant talents dazzle for a day, and secure for their possessor the plaudits of contemporaries, but when time stills the echo of applause, the memory of the popular favorite passes away, and posterity regards his name with listless curiosity.

We cannot claim for the hero of our sketch the performance of any of those great actions which are among the landmarks of history, and outside of South Carolina his name is probably in the great catalogue of undistinguished celebrities who shone for a day, and then passed into oblivion. But in South Carolina he has a claim to our fond regard, not so much for what he did, as for what he so largely helped to do. If, in the history of our country, the South, and South Carolina, has had an undue share of influence in guiding the political bark, it was the result, not of the brilliant talents, but of the solid character of her representatives. They were felt to be men who might be trusted: who had no selfish ends to carry: who had but one rule of action in both private and public life, and that was devotion to truth and to right.

Men who act thus are representative men—a poor constituency can never send such men to represent them. They choose men like themselves.

A good public sentiment is formed by the influence of the men who stand at the head of society. As they direct, the masses think and act; and here is South Carolina largely indebted to Christopher Gadsden. He was the soul of honor. His youth and early manhood were spent where corruption in high places had reached its highest point in England; but his pure spirit shrank from contamination. He was the soul of integrity. The natural effect of the Revolution was to produce anarchy, and disobedience to law and authority. The wise spirit of Christopher Gadsden saw the danger, and resisted it, and in his own person set the highest example of obedience. He was a living illustration of duty. It was not he alone that moulded public sentiment; no one man could do it: but he was foremost among those who were unconsciously engaged in that good and noble work, and to no one is more applicable the motto proposed by Major Gordon as his epitaph :

In difficillimis Reipublicæ temporibus urbem nunquam deserui, in prosperis nihil de publico delibaui; in desperatis nihil timui.—[Cic.

EDUCATION

IN

SOUTH CAROLINA

Prior to and during the Revolution.

A PAPER

Read before the Historical Society of South Carolina
6th August, 1883.

BY

EDWARD McCRADY, JUN'R.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY.

CHARLESTON, S. C.
THE NEWS AND COURIER BOOK PRESSES.
1883.

As the purpose of the following paper, read before the Historical Society of South Carolina, and now published by that body, is to refute the charge made by Mr. McMaster, in his History of the People of the United States, of the neglect of education in South Carolina prior to and during the Revolution, I have given exact quotations from the authors and Acts I have cited rather than my understanding of what they wrote or contained, thus avoiding any misunderstanding of the texts, on my part.

I have also restricted myself to the period of which Mr. McMaster treats in the volume of his work now before the public. There is much in the subsequent history of education in the State which is interesting, but as this paper is a refutation, and a refutation only, I have not stepped beyond the period of which he has so far written.

EDWARD McCRADY, JUN'R.

Charleston, S. C., October 22d, 1883.

COLONIAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

In "A View of South Carolina," by John Drayton, published in 1802, we find the author good humoredly ridiculing a learned professor of Princeton for his assertion in a work on the human species, that the poor and laboring classes in South Carolina are deformed and misshapen, and "degenerated to a complexion that is but a few shades lighter than that of the Iroquois." Mr. Drayton observes: "The doctor has never been in this State; how then has he been able to give this unpleasant and degrading account of some of her inhabitants. It could only have been by information, not from Carolinians, for they are better informed, but by strangers who, to use the doctor's own words,' judge of things, of men and manners under the influence of habits and ideas framed in a different climate, and a different state of society.'" Mr. Drayton quotes the learned professor as saying: "It is a shame for philosophy, at this day, to be swallowing the falsehoods, and accounting for the absurdities of sailors." "He would have done well, also," Mr. Drayton goes on to say, "in keeping clear of an error into which philosophers are apt to fall; which is to reason from assumed facts in order to support favorite principles."

This was written in the commencement of the century, and now at the near end of it, we of the South, and of South Carolina particularly, have the same complaint to make. He who would mention us must needs, it would seem, to obtain readers, still insist that we Southerners are all "but a few shades lighter than that of the Iroquois," are monsters in appearance; and—the writer must now surely add—have no education and are steeped in ignorance. Matters indeed have grown worse. The historian of to-day, if he desires

to maintain a character as such, cannot afford, when writing about us, to repeat what has already been recorded to our credit, and must go so far even as to omit a part of a sentence in a quotation, if the whole sentence fails to support assumed facts and favorite principles in regard to the state of our society. This seems to be now an accepted canon of historical writing. As an instance, we quote from *McMaster's History of the People of the United States, Volume I, page 27:*

"In the Southern States education was almost wholly neglected, *but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina. In that Colony, prior to 1730, no such thing as a grammar school existed. Between 1731 and 1776 there were five. During the Revolution there were none. Indeed, if the number of newspapers printed in any community may be taken as a guage of the education of the people, the condition of the Southern States as compared with the Eastern and Middle was most deplorable.* In 1773 there were in the entire country thirty-seven papers in circulation. Fourteen of them were in New England; four were in New York and nine in Pennsylvania; in Virginia and North Carolina there were two each; in Georgia one; in South Carolina three. *The same is true of to-day.*"

For the existence of this neglect, and the deplorable condition of education in the South, the author cites two authorities: *Ramsay's History of South Carolina* and *Hudson's History of Journalism in the United States.* Let us see if his authorities sustain his assertions and conclusions.

Prejudice may warp the judgment so as to lead it to accept as true statements which have no foundation in fact, and to form conclusions not warranted if the statements were true; but not even prejudice can excuse or account for a misquotation. Mr. McMaster asserts that in the Southern States education was almost wholly neglected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina; and that in that Colony, prior to 1730, no such thing as a grammar school existed; and gives as his authority *Ramsay's*

History of South Carolina. Now, with the book open before us, we deny that Ramsay made any such statement; on the contrary he has a chapter on "*The Literary History of South Carolina,*" *Chapter IX, Volume* 2, in which he shows that no sooner had the settlers provided shelter and the necessaries of life, "than they adopted measures for promoting the moral and literary improvement of themselves, and *particularly of the rising generation.*" (See page 353.)

The nearest approach to Mr. McMaster's quotation is this sentence in the close of the chapter (Volume II, page 383): "There was no grammar school in South Carolina prior to 1730, *except the free school in Charleston;* from 1730 till 1776, there were not more than four or five, and all in or near Charleston." Mr. McMaster, it will be observed, has omitted a part of the sentence he undertook to quote. Can such a misquotation be excused on the ground of oversight or accident? Can it be attributed even to prejudice? Is it not open to a still graver charge?

But since Mr. McMaster has referred us to Dr. Ramsay, as an authority upon the matter of education of the people of South Carolina, let us see what Dr. Ramsay does say on the subject, and let us refer a little more particularly to his authorities, and add some others, more fully showing the attention paid to education in South Carolina before and during the Revolution.

I.

SCHOOLS PRIOR TO THE REVOLUTION.

Dr. Ramsay, as we have seen, commences his chapter on the literary history of South Carolina with the statement that the earliest settlers of the Province had no sooner provided themselves with shelter than they adopted measures for promoting the moral and literary improvement of themselves and of their children. He goes on then to give this account of the establishment of free schools in the Province. On page 354, Volume II, we read:

"In the years 1710 and 1712, the Assembly passed laws

'for founding and erecting a free school in Charlestown for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina.' The preamble of the latter, after setting forth 'the necessity that a free school be erected for *the instruction of youth in grammar* and other arts and sciences, and also in the principles of the christian religion; and that several well disposed christians by their last will *had* given several sums of money for the founding of a free school,' proceeds to enact 'that Charles Craven, Charles Hart, Thomas Broughton, Nicholas Trott, Arthur Middleton, Richard Beresford, William Rhett, Gideon Johnson, Francis Lejau, Robert Maul, Ralph Izard, Joseph Morton, George Logan, Alexander Parris, Hugh Grange, and William Gibbon, and their successors, be a body corporate by the name of the commissioners for founding, erecting, governing and visiting a free school for the use of the inhabitants of South Carolina, with all the power of a corporation, and with particular authority to take possession of all gifts and legacies *formerly given for the use of the free school*, and to take up or purchase as much land as might be deemed necessary for the use of the school, and to erect thereon suitable buildings." He goes on to say, pages 355–56: "Provision was also made for 'the support of an usher, and a master to teach writing, arithmetic, merchant's accompts, surveying, navigation and practical mathematics.' It was also enacted, he tells, 'that any school-master settled in a country Parish, and approved by the Vestry, should receive ten pounds per annum from the public treasury:' and that the Vestries should be authorized to draw from the same source twelve pounds towards building a school-house in each of the country Parishes."

Now, this was before Mr. McMaster when he asserted that Dr. Ramsay had stated there was "no grammar school in South Carolina prior to 1730;" and so much he cannot escape from the knowledge of, when he was recklessly making so grave a charge against a people. But if, led by a real historical spirit, he had examined the Acts to which Dr. Ramsay refers (and which are to be found in all the large bar libraries in New York and elsewhere), he would

have seen that the Act of 1710, as well as that of 1712, contained the recital that the gifts of money for the founding of a free school had then (in 1710) *already been made;* from which he would have learned that even prior to 1710 the people of South Carolina had conceived and attempted the establishment of a free school; and had he examined further he would have found that South Carolina during Colonial times was very little, if any, behind even Massachusetts in the matter of public education.

Dr. Dalcho* writes (1710-11): "The want of schools was a source of great solicitude to the inhabitants, and called for the exertions of the virtuous and the good. The missionaries, and many other gentlemen of the Province, addressed the Society† on this interesting and important subject. They described the deplorable condition of the rising generation for want of sufficient education, and lamented the decay of piety and morals as the inevitable consequence of leaving the young to their own pursuits, and to the influence of evil example. The spiritual as well as temporal interests of the people were declared to be at stake, as an ignorant, uneducated community was but a small remove from the habits and feelings of savage life. The Society felt the force of the appeal. In the year 1711 they established a school in Charlestown and placed it under the care of the Rev. William Guy, A. M., whom, at the same time, they appointed an assistant to the Rector of St. Philip's Parish."

Prof. Rivers, in his Early History of South Carolina, says: "The Society for Propagating the Gospel sent out missionaries not only to preach, but 'to encourage the setting up of schools for the teaching of children.' Their schoolmasters were required 'to take especial care of the manners of the pupils in and out of school; warning them against lying and falsehood and evil speaking; to love truth and honesty; to be modest, just and affable; to receive in their tender years that sense of religion which may render it the

* *Church History, page 95.*
† *The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.*

constant principle of their lives and actions.' The want of schools, however, was not immediately remedied, and so urgent appeals were made to the Society that in 1721 they established a school in Charlestown under Rev. Wm. Guy. In the previous year several persons having bequeathed legacies for founding a free school, an Act was passed (1712) for this purpose, and soon afterwards for extending similar benefits to all the Parishes."*

The Act alluded to by Prof. Rivers was, "An Act additional to an Act entitled 'An Act for establishing County and Precinct Courts,'" passed February 23, 1722. The original was not to be found when the Statutes at Large were compiled, but the text is given in Trott's Laws of South Carolina. By this Act the Justices of these Courts were authorized to purchase lands, erect a free school in each County and Precinct, and to assess the expense upon the lands and slaves within their respective jurisdictions. They were to appoint masters who should be "well skilled in the Latin tongue," and be allowed twenty-five pounds proclamation money per annum. Ten poor children were to be taught gratis yearly, if sent by the Justices.†

Dr. Ramsay proceeds (page 356) to tell that Sir Francis Nicolson, the first Royal Governor of the Province, (1721–24) was a great friend to learning; and that he liberally contributed to its support and pressed on the inhabitants the usefulness and necessity of Provincial establishments for its advancement; and that the inhabitants, urged by his persuasions, engaged in providing seminaries for the instruction of youths.

Besides these general contributions, Dr. Ramsay tells of several particular legacies left for this purpose. Mr. Whitmarsh left five hundred pounds to St. Paul's Parish for founding a free school in it. Mr. Ludlam, Missionary at Goose Creek, bequeathed all his estate, which was computed to amount to two thousand pounds, for the same purpose.

* *Historical Sketch of South Carolina, page 231; see also Shecut's Essays, [illegible]; Dalcho's Church History, [illegible]; see also [illegible] Talbot's Report to South Carolina Legislature on the Free Schools, 1847.*

Richard Beresford, by his will, bequeathed to the Vestry of St. Thomas' Parish one-third of the yearly profits of his estate for the support of one or more school-masters, who should teach writing, accounts, mathematics and other liberal learning; and the other two-thirds for the support, maintenance and education of the poor of that Parish. The Vestry accordingly received from this estate six thousand five hundred pounds for promoting these pious and charitable purposes. "This fund," Dr. Ramsay says when he wrote (1808), "is still in existence, and has long been known by the name of 'Beresford's bounty'"—and we may add, was carefully preserved until destroyed, or nearly so, during the late war. In 1733, we go on to read, a free school was erected at Childsbury, in St. John's Parish, on the foundation of six hundred pounds bequeathed for that purpose by James Childs, and twenty-two hundred pounds subscribed by the parishioners. The interest of two hundred pounds, bequeathed by Francis Williams, was also appropriated as a fund for teaching poor scholars. In 1734 a free school was erected in Dorchester. The corporations of these schools were cherished by the Colonial government, Dr. Ramsay says, and were favored in taking up lands. They formed a centre to which were drawn the donations and bequests of the charitable. "From the triple source of tuition money, public bounty and private donations, a fund was created which diffused the means of education far beyond what could have been accomplished by uncombined exertions conducted without union or system." This is Dr. Ramsay's comment; and yet he is cited by Mr. McMaster as authority for his assertion that education was almost wholly neglected in the South, and nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina.

From Dalcho we learn that the desire for the education of the rising generation was now (1721-28) generally felt through the Province. Many pious persons, he says, had bequeathed portions of their estates for this benevolent purpose, and many contributed largely by their donations. In the Parish of St. Paul's a considerable sum was

raised by subscription for founding a free school for the education of the poor, and to which John Whitmarsh added a legacy of five hundred pounds.* He also mentions two other legacies for the use of schooling and educating the poor children in the Parish of St. John's Colleton, John's Island, in 1770—one by Col. John Gibbs of five hundred pounds, and one by George Hext of twelve hundred and fifty pounds.†

Turning to the *General Statutes of South Carolina*, we find that an Act was passed March 24th, 1724, "for the founding and erecting, governing, ordering and visiting a free school at the Town of Dorchester in the Parish of St. George, in Berkeley County, for the use of the inhabitants of the Province of South Carolina." Nothing, however, seems to have been accomplished under this Act, possibly from some impracticable provisions contained in it; but this is only surmise, as the text of it is not now to be found—the title only has been preserved.‡ But in 1734 another Act, with the same title, was passed, the preamble of which is so pertinent we will quote it:

"Whereas, by the blessing of Almighty God, the youth of this Province are become very numerous, and their parents so well inclined to have them instructed in grammar and other liberal arts and sciences, and other useful learning, and also in the principles of the christian religion, that the free school erected, authorized and established in Charlestown for this purpose is not sufficient fully to answer the good intent of such an undertaking; And, whereas, several of the inhabitants of this Province who have a numerous issue and live at such a distance from the said free school now established in Charlestown, that their circumstances may not be sufficient to permit them to send their children thither to be educated, whereby they may be deprived of so great a benefit; and it therefore appearing necessary that one or more schools be founded and erected in other part or parts of this Province as shall be most convenient for carry-

* *Dalcho's Church History*, page 353. † *Ibid.*, pages 363-364.
‡ *Statutes at Large*, Vol. III, page 256.

ing out so laudable a design, we therefore pray your Most Sacred Majesty that it may be enacted," &c.*

The year before (1733) the free school at Childsbury, in St. John's Parish, mentioned by Dr. Ramsay, had been established. Let us give the preamble to this Act:

"Whereas, nothing conduces more to the private advantage of every man, or the public benefit of the country in general, than a liberal education, and the same cannot be had without due encouragement to persons qualified to instruct youth; and Mr. James Child, late of this Province, deceased, desiring, as far as lay in his power, to promote the same, did, in and by his last will and testament, give and bequeath the sum of five hundred pounds current money of Carolina towards the encouragement of a grammar school, and other learning, at Childsbury, in St. John Parish, Berkeley County; and also did further give, devise and bequeath the sum of one hundred pounds like money, and a lot to build a convenient house for the said school; and left the same to certain trustees in the said will named to manage the same according to the directions of his will; and the said sums being far too short for the said purposes, several gentlemen, well weighing the great want of necessary learning in the Province, and being desirous to encourage so good an undertaking (according to their several abilities), have, by voluntary subscriptions, raised the sum of two thousand two hundred pounds like current money to be added to the legacy of the said James Child, and have also chosen trustees to be joined with those named in the said Mr. James Child's will to manage the said sums for the use of the said school, and as visitors to order, direct and govern the said school. We therefore humbly pray your Most Sacred Majesty that it may be enacted," &c.†

Now, in reading these preambles to Acts which were passed establishing these schools, can it be said that the people of South Carolina were at that early day unmindful of education? The population of the Province in 1734 was but 7,533.‡

* *Statutes at Large, Volume III, page 378.*

† *Ibid, Volume III, page 304.*

‡ *Drayton's Historical Sketch of South Carolina, page 103.*

But let us again return to Dr. Ramsay's History, to which Mr. McMaster refers us, and to the same chapter from which he so incorrectly quotes. We read at *page 262*:

"Education has also been fostered in South Carolina by several societies as a part of a general plan of charity. The oldest of this class is the South Carolina Society, which was formed about the year 1737.

"It pays the salary of a school-master and school-mistress for the education of children of both sexes. Since the commencement of their school" (i. e. 1737 to 1808) "several hundreds of pupils have received the benefit of a plain education from its bounty. There is a succession of scholars. None are received under eight years and none are retained beyond fourteen, and the girls not beyond twelve. The present number is seventy-two, and that is steadily kept up: for as fast as any of the pupils are dismissed their place is supplied by the admission of others. The present funds of the society amount to 137,000 dollars." * * * *

"The Fellowship Society, incorporated in 1769, was originally intended to cover under its sheltering wing the deplorable maniac, and for that purpose appropriated one-half of its funds. With the other moiety it has followed the example of the last mentioned society, and bestows a gratuitous education on the children of misfortune. Twenty-five children are now (1808) under a course of plain education on its bounty.

"The St. Andrew's Society have in like manner lately appropriated a portion of their funds for similar purposes, and twenty children are now educated at their expense.

"The Winyaw Indigo Society," Dr. Ramsay says, "was incorporated in 1756. The original design of the founders of this institution was of a patriotic and charitable nature.

"It had in view the improvement of the culture and manufacture of indigo, and the endowment of a free school. The object of the society is now wholly confined to the education of orphan children. Since its commencement there have been educated and supported upon its bounty between one and two hundred orphans. From the continual accession of

new members the funds are in a flourishing condition, and enable the society to educate twenty children annually."

This school for more than a hundred years was the chief school for all the Eastern part of the country between Charleston and the North Carolina line, and was resorted to by all classes.

As to the South Carolina Society see also *Shecut's Essays*.

There was also a grammar school at Beaufort kept by Mr. Comming, a Scotchman, and a private school near Beaufort kept by the Rev. James Gourlay.

It will thus be observed that the education of the lower part of the State was carried on by legislative aid and authority in connection with the Church of England. In the upper part of the State, which was settled by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, churches and school-houses were built together by the ministers of that Church which has always been foremost in education in this country. These covenanters, as most of them were, coming down from Pennsylvania after Braddock's defeat, settled in the Western parts of North and South Carolina, and to a great extent peopled the districts of Lancaster, York, Chester and Union. The principal settlement was at the Waxaws, on the line between the two States. Of the women of these people it has been written: "An education—knowledge of things human and divine—they prized beyond all price in their leaders and teachers; and craved its possession for their husbands and brothers and sons. The Spartan mothers gloried in the bravery of their husbands and fathers, and demanded it in their sons—'Bring me this, or be brought back upon it,' said one as she gave her son a shield to go out to battle. These Presbyterian mothers gloried in the enterprise and religion and knowledge and purity of their husbands and children, and would forego comforts and endure toil that their sons might be well instructed, enterprising men." * * * "With many, and they the influential men and women, the desire of knowledge was cherished before a competence was obtained, or the labors of a first settlement overcome. Almost invariably as soon as a neighborhood

was settled, preparations were made for preaching the Gospel by a regular stated pastor; *and wherever a pastor was located, in that congregation there was a classical school.*"*

Dr. Howe, in his History of the Presbyterians, justly observes: "Under the Colonial government the refinements of the higher civilization were kept upon our seaboard country by its constant intercourse with the British Isle, whither the sons and daughters of the wealthy were often sent for their education. But in the upper country the church and the school, both accommodated at first in the rudest and most primitive structures, were almost inseparably connected, until, as we have seen in the last fifteen years of the eighteenth century, institutions for the higher learning had almost everywhere arisen, if not in a form and with endowments which rendered them perfect, yet conducted with a becoming energy of purpose, and affording the means of a valuable education to those who were to become the future leaders in the church and the State."†

In 1767, a school was opened in the fork between the Broad and Saluda Rivers,‡ and in 1768 an Act was passed by the General Assembly for incorporating the Salem Society, the preamble of which is: "Whereas, sundry inhabitants of the District of Ninety-Six have formed themselves into a Society for the express purpose of endowing and supporting a school and seminary of learning, and have fixed upon a spot between the Catawba and Savannah Rivers, near Little River Meeting House, as being the best situated to answer the designs of the Society, and have made application to the General Assembly of this State to be incorporated," &c.§

There were schools too at Bullock's Creek, York District, and at Waxaws, Lancaster District. There is a tradition that Wade Hampton, afterwards General, the ancestor of the present General Wade Hampton, taught school on Tyger River, Spartanburg District, in 1776. But the higher educa-

* *Foote's Sketches of North Carolina*, page 512.

† *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, Volume [illegible], page 88.

‡ *Appendix to Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, page 601.

§ *Statutes at Large*, Volume VIII, page 117.

‖ *Letter of Rev. James H. Saye, D.D., Chester, S. C.*

tion of this part of the State was principally obtained at the "Queen's Museum," afterwards called "Liberty Hall," an academy in Charlotte, North Carolina, just beyond the dividing line between the States. It was at this academy that General William R. Davie, then a youth of the Waxaws, afterwards member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States, Governor of North Carolina, and Minister to France, one who was alike distinguished as scholar, soldier, statesman and lawyer, received the education which enabled him to take the first honors at Princeton, and fitted him to become of the founders of the University of North Carolina.*

It will thus be seen that during the time that Mr. McMaster asserts that education was wholly neglected in South Carolina, there were not only five free schools in the Colony, but many other schools maintained by charitable societies and churches. Indeed, every society formed for charitable or patriotic purpose seems at once to have assumed that education must be a part of its business: and education was deemed a part of the religious duties of the clergy, whether Presbyterian, Covenanter, or Churchman.

But these free schools, and schools founded or maintained by charity, and built up along with the churches in the wilderness, were by no means the only schools in South Carolina prior to the Revolution. It was as true of the South before the Revolution as after, (as Mr. Orr, the able School Commissioner of Georgia, pointed out to the National Educational Association at a recent meeting,) that the education of the South was carried on principally by means of private schools and academies.

Dr. Ramsay says: "With the growing wealth of the Province, the schools became more numerous, and co-extended with the spreading population. The number of individuals who could afford to maintain private tutors, and of natives who were sent abroad for education, increased in like manner. None of the British Provinces sent so

* *Wheler's History of North Carolina, Volume II, page 158.*

many of their sons to Europe for education as South Carolina," &c.*

Mr. Drayton, in his Memoirs, writes: "Before the American war, the citizen of Carolina was too much prejudiced in favor of British manners, customs and knowledge to imagine that elsewhere than in England anything of advantage could be obtained. For reasons also, of state, perhaps, this prejudice was encouraged by the mother country, and hence the children of opulent persons were sent there for education, while attempts for supporting suitable seminaries of learning in this State were not sufficiently encouraged and promoted."†

Mr. McMaster observes that so late as 1795, a gentleman who had been abroad was pointed out in the streets even of large cities with the remark: "There goes a man who has been to Europe!" "There goes a man who has been to London." This remark points this difference between the Northern and Southern Colonies which should not be overlooked in considering the character of their respective societies, and the education of her people. While it is true that there was little or no intercoure between New England and Old England, there was a close and constant intercourse between the people of South Carolina and the mother country; and the ambition of the Southern planter was to send his son to England for education at Oxford or Cambridge. South Carolina seemed to be preparing her sons both at home and abroad for the service of the country at large. Thus it happened that during the period in which Mr. McMaster charges that education was wholly neglected in South Carolina, Arthur Middleton, Thomas Heyward, Thomas Lynch, Jr. (three of the signers of the Declaration of Independence), John Rutledge, Hugh Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Thomas Pinckney, William Henry Drayton, Christopher Gadsden, Henry Laurens, John Laurens, Gabriel Manigault, William Wragg and John Faucheraud Grimke, among other

* *Hemphill's South Carolina, Volume II, page 456.*

† *Historical Sketch of South Carolina, page 247. See also, Mill's Statistics of South Carolina, 1820.*

Carolina youths, had been sent to England for the completion of their education. Dr. Ramsay calls attention, too, to the fact that the natives of Carolina, though educated in Great Britian, were not biased in favor of that country. Most of them joined heartily in the Revolution, and from their superior knowledge were eminently useful as civil and military officers in directing the efforts of their countrymen in defence of their rights. This, Dr. Ramsay observes in a note, is the more remarkable, as the reverse took place in other Provinces.*

Hugh S. Legare, in a note to his Essay on Classical Learning, says: "Before, and just after the Revolution, many, perhaps it would be more accurate to say most, of our youth of opulent families were educated at English schools and universities. There can be no doubt their attainments in polite literature were very far superior to those of their cotemporaries at the North, and the standard of scholarship in Charleston was consequently much higher than in any other city on the continent," &c.†

"In his Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century, published in 1808 by Dr. Samuel Miller, late of Princeton, the belief is expressed that the learned languages, especially the Greek, were less studied in the Eastern than in the Southern and Middle States, and that while more individuals attended to classical learning there than here, it was attended to more superficially. The reason is, that owing to the superior wealth of the individuals in the latter States, more of their sons were educated in Europe, and brought home with them a more accurate knowledge of the classics, and set the example of a more thorough study."‡

But while most of the young men of means of South Carolina were educated abroad, those who remained at home did like credit to their education. Charles Pinckney, whose draft of the Constitution has been the subject of so much controversy—a controversy dogmatically decided in a line by Mr. McMaster—and who was not only a great statesman, but a learned lawyer and an accomplished classical scholar,

* *History of South Carolina*, page 256.

† *Legare's Writings*, page 7.

‡ *Hoge's History Presbyterian Church*, Volume II, page 21.

received his entire education in Charleston. So, too, did Edward Rutledge, until ready to commence the study of his profession, when, as customary, he too went to England and entered a student in the Temple. The letter of his brother John, addressed to him upon the pursuit of his studies in England,* might be read to-day with profit by any student of the law. Dr. William Charles Wells, who promulgated the first comprehensive theory of dew, and who was the author of a remarkable essay on the theory of vision, and a well known medical writer of his time in Edinburgh, obtained his education in Charleston, which he did not leave until prepared to commence his study of medicine in Edinburgh.

We are told that the Puritan settlers, fully convinced of the necessity of universal education, as soon as they had provided themselves temporary shelter reared the church and the school-house. So, too, did both Churchmen and Covenanters in South Carolina. But the Puritans were not the first to establish free grammar schools, nor were the schools established by them the common or public schools of to-day. The first free grammar schools, as they were called, that is schools in which Latin was taught, and which were supported in part at least by proceeds of land, &c., were established in Charlestown, Va., in 1621; in Boston 1636; in Salem 1641; and in most towns of New England within a few years after their settlement; but these, though comprising the greater part of the children of the settlement, were not common schools in the present sense of that term.† These free public or common schools, it is claimed, were inaugurated by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1642–43. The law of the latter year provided as follows:

"It is therefore ordered that every township in the jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty households, shall then forthwith appoint one within the town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write, whose wages shall be paid either by the

* *O'Neall's Bench and Bar of South Carolina, Volume II, page 115.*
† *Encyclopedia Americana.*

parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in a general way of supply as the major part of those that order the providentials of the town shall appoint; *Provided*, those that send their children be not oppressed by payment more than they can have them taught for in other towns."

Massachusetts was settled in 1607; so that their first effort to establish by law a public school (if such it can be called) was made thirty-six years after the commencement of the Colony. It will be observed that no public or free school was actually established by this Act of the General Court, as the legislature of Massachusetts was termed. The Act was "merely directory." It directed the towns to establish schools, but that was all; it did not of itself incorporate or establish schools any more than our Act of 1712, which authorized the Vestries, or our Act of 1722 which directed the Justices, to establish free schools, did so. We do not mean to belittle the source from which so great an institution as the American—or for that matter the New England—common school system has sprung, if this be its true spring. Small is the commencement of most great things. Still we must not be misled into the idea that the common school system, as we know it, or anything like it, existed two hundred and forty years ago—even in Massachusetts. Mr. McMaster has himself prevented us from falling into such an error; for this is the account he gives of the New England school-master in 1784, a hundred and forty years after. In one of his best passages describing the school-master, as we now know him and appreciate him, he says (page 21):

"But the lot of the school-master who taught in the district school-house three generations since fell in a very different time and among a very different people. School was then held in the little red school houses for two months in the winter by a man, and for two months in the summer by a woman. The boys went in the winter, the girls in the summer. The master was generally a divinity student, who had graduated at one of the academies, who had scarcely passed out of his teens, and who sought by the scanty

profits derived from a winter's teaching to defray the expenses of a study at Harvard or at Yale. His pay was small, yet he was never called upon to lay out any portion of it for his keep. If the district was populous and wealthy a little sum was annually set apart for his board, and he was placed with a farmer who would for that amount board and lodge him the longest time. But this was a far too expensive method for many of the districts, and the master was therefore expected to live with the parents of his pupils, regulating the length of his stay by the number of the boys in the family attending his school. Thus it happened that in the course of his teaching he became an inmate of all the houses of the district, and was not seldom forced to walk five miles in the worst of weather over the worst of roads to his school. Yet mendicant though he was, it would be a great mistake to suppose that he was not always a welcome guest. He slept in the best room, sat in the warmest nook by the fire, and had the best food set before him at the table. In the long winter evenings he helped the boys with their lessons, held yarn for the daughters, or escorted them to spinning matches and quiltings. In return for his miserable pittance and his board the young student taught what would now be considered as the rudiments of an education. His daily labors were confined to teaching his scholars to read with a moderate degree of fluency, to write legibly, to spell with some regard to the rule of orthography, and to know as much of arithmetic as would enable them to calculate the interest on a debt, to keep the family accounts and to make change in a shop."

Now what did South Carolina require of her school-masters, and what provision did she make for their compensation? Let us turn to the Statutes and let them speak for themselves.*

The Act of 1712 provided (Section XII) "that the person to be master of the said school shall be of the religion of the Church of England, and conform to the same, and shall

* *Statutes at Large, Vol. II, page 389*

be capable to teach the learned languages, that is to say Latin and Greek tongues; (Section XV) that the said school-master shall have, hold, occupy, possess, and enjoy all such lands as shall, pursuant to this Act, be taken up, purchased, had or received for the use of a school-master of the said school, and the school-house and dwelling-house and outbuildings upon the same; and also for the further encouragement unto him shall have and receive out of the public treasury of this Province the full sum of one hundred pounds per annum, to be paid to him half yearly; (Section XVI) that in consideration of the school-master being allowed the use of the lands, dwelling-house and other buildings, and also the yearly salary of one hundred pounds per annum, he shall teach freely and without any manner of fee or reward whatsoever over and above the number of free scholars to be appointed by each person contributing twenty pounds, any number of scholars not exceeding twelve, the scholars to be taught free to be nominated by the Commissioners; (Section XVII) that for every scholar the said master shall teach, besides those who by this Act are appointed to be taught free, he shall be allowed four pounds per annum current money of this Province, to be paid him by the parent or guardian of such scholar; (Section XVIII) that in case the school-master shall have more scholars in his school than one man can well manage, the Commissioner shall appoint a fit person to be usher, who, for his encouragement, shall be allowed fifty pounds per annum out of the public treasury; and over and above that shall be allowed for every scholar that is under his charge (excepting those appointed to be taught free) at the rate of thirty shillings; (Section XIX) that a fit person shall be nominated and appointed by the said Commissioner to teach writing, arithmetick and merchant's accompts; and also the art of navigation, and other useful and practical parts of the mathematicks; and for his encouragement shall be allowed not exceeding fifty pounds, to be paid him half yearly out of the public treasury of this Province; and in consideration of the said yearly salary to be paid him he shall be obliged to teach free all such persons as by this

Act are appointed to have their learning free; and for other scholars that are not to be taught free he shall be allowed for teaching them writing at the rate of thirty shillings per annum; if writing and arithmetick, forty shillings; if merchant's accompts, fifty shillings per annum; and if the mathematicks, at such rate as he shall agree with the several parents and guardians of the said children, not exceeding six pounds per annum."

By another provision of the Act, any person giving twenty pounds towards the erecting and founding of the school might nominate one scholar to be taught free for five years.

The XXI Section of the Act recited and provided as follows: "And as a further and more general encouragement for the instructing of the youth of this Province in useful and necessary learning, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, that as soon as a school-master is settled in any other or all the rest of the Parishes of this Province, and approved by the Vestry of such Parish or Parishes, such school-master so approved from time to time shall receive the sum of ten pounds per annum out of the public treasury by quarterly payments; and the Public Receiver is hereby required to pay the same."

These were the requirements of the school-master, and the provisions for his maintenance as established by law in 1712 in the lower part of South Carolina, which only was then settled. The teachers of the upper part of the State, which was not settled until forty years after, were generally Presbyterian clergymen from Ireland—some were from Scotland. They were usually men of education; some were excellent arithmeticians, and read and wrote Latin fluently; all were excellent penmen. The "Master," as the teacher was called, besides teaching, discharged many duties now performed by lawyers and surveyors. He drew all the wills and titles to land, and made all the difficult calculations. No man in the settlement was more honorable or more honored than the "Master." The title "Master" signified more than "Reverend" or "Doctor" does now.*

* *Letter of Rev. Robert Latham, Yorkville, S. C.*

The character and attainments of the school-masters, as required by the law of South Carolina for her free schools, and the provisions made for his support in 1712, and of the teachers in the upper part of the State when settled forty years afterwards, certainly compare very favorably with the description of the New England school-master, and the arrangements for his support, as described by Mr. McMaster as existing in 1784.*

By the Act of the General Court of Massachusetts of 1642-43—the basis of the New England common school system, as it is claimed—it was directed that every township containing the number of fifty households should appoint one within the town to teach the children. What the average number of "a household" was then supposed to contain we have no means of estimating; but as the New England townships of the present day, outside of towns having ten thousand inhabitants, is estimated to contain seventeen hundred (census of 1870), we may roughly put the New England townships during the period under consideration at five hundred. The population of South Carolina in 1734 was but seven thousand three hundred and thirty-three, and in 1737 there were six free and charitable schools, to wit: Charlestown Free School, South Carolina Society School, Childsbury Free School, St. George's Dorchester Free School, Beresford Bounty School, Whitmarsh Free

* Whatever force there may be in Mr. McMaster's criticism must consist in the comparative attention to [illegible] of education in South Carolina as of the time of which he writes. It is not amiss, therefore, to recall that in the mother country, the advertisement in the Gentlemen's Magazine for 1736—

"At Ideal, near Lichfield, in Staffordshire, young gentlemen are boarded and taught the Latin and Greek languages by *Samuel Johnson*"—

brought that celebrated person, in his youth, but three pupils; upon which Carlyle observes:

"The career of Literature could not, in Johnson's day any more than now, be said to lie along the shores of a Pactolus, whatever else might be gathered there, gold dust was nowise the chief produce. The world, from the time of Socrates, St. Paul, and Jesus, had always had its Teachers, and always treated them in a peculiar way. A shrewd Town Clerk (not of Ephesus) once in founding a Burgh—Seminary—when the question came how the school-masters should be maintained [illegible] (1)—'Them, keep them *poor!*'"

South Carolina, certainly, did not adopt this aphorism.

School; that is, one free or charitable school to about every twelve hundred inhabitants. Supposing that a public school was *actually* established in each township in Massachusetts, of which there is, however, no more probability than that there was one in each County precinct in South Carolina under our Act of 1722, the number in proportion to the inhabitants must still be in favor of Massachusetts. But it must be remembered that the difference between Massachusetts and South Carolina on the subject of education was and always has been that Massachusetts claimed to educate her youth generally, rich and poor, by public or common school system, whereas, South Carolina has made no such pretence, but, on the contrary, has always relied for the education of her sons more on private schools than on public schools. We are not now discussing the relative merits of the two systems, but are only insisting that in comparing the respective merits of the two States as to zeal in education it must be borne in mind that all the efforts of South Carolina as to public education were in addition and supplementary to, and not in the place and stead of, the system of private education upon which, wisely or not, our people rested.

Mr. McMaster, it will be recollected, asserts with positiveness that prior to 1730 no such thing as a grammar school existed in the Colony of South Carolina. Will it be believed that the work he refers to as his authority for this statement (Ramsay's History of South Carolina) contains this sentence: "*The knowledge of grammar and of the Latin and Greek languages could be obtained in Carolina at any time after 1712, or the forty-second year subsequent to the settlement of the Province?*" We cannot expect that it will unless the reader refers to the second volume, (page 353,) of that work.

II

SCHOOLS OPEN DURING THE REVOLUTION.

Let us now examine Mr. McMaster's assertion, *that during the Revolution* there was no grammar school in existence in South Carolina.

For this assertion, too, he refers to Dr. Ramsay's History. There is no such statement in that work. Nor is it true.

We may well suppose that when Charleston was in the possession of the British, that a school-master who was loyal to the cause of his State would not have been allowed to teach; but this would scarcely be brought up as a reproach to our people of that time.* And when Cornwallis marched through and devastated that other part of the State settled by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians it may well have been, as it was when Sherman recently repeated his example, that school-houses and books were burned as well as every thing else that could not be carried off. But such a calamity as war would scarcely be cited as an evidence of neglect of education by our people. Beyond this natural supposition there is nothing whatever to suggest this assertion, so boldly made by Mr. McMaster. On the contrary, there happens to be evidence that the people of South Carolina did not, even in the excitement and distress of invasion, forget the work of education; and that her youths were allowed to put down their books only to take up arms in defence of liberty.

In Dr. Howe's *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, we read:†

"Yet, in the midst of these scenes of conflict, our people were by no means neglecting the interests of learning and religion. The Mount Zion Society was established in the City of Charleston January 9th, and incorporated February 12th, 1777," (that is the year after the battle of Fort Moul-

* We have been permitted to take the following extract from a memoir of his family prepared by Chancellor DeSaussure, who was himself taken from school to serve in the works around Charleston during the siege.

"Henry W. DeSaussure (the writer) was born on 10th August, 1763, at Pocataligo, and was carried a child to Beaufort, where the family resided until January, 1770, when they removed permanently to Charleston. He was educated partly at a private school near Beaufort kept by the Rev. Mr. James Goldsby, and on the removal of his family to Charleston, at a school in Charleston under the care of Mr. James Hamilton Tennent. Little else, however, than the classics were taught in any of these schools. * * * * * * * From the time of the revolution of Drayton, in the spring of 1770, the school-rooms closed, and the youth of the country joined the ranks. Among others, the writer at the age of sixteen years was in arms, and during the siege of Charleston served in a volunteer corps."

† *Page 449.*

trier" for the purpose of founding, endowing and supporting a public school in the District of Camden for the education and instruction of youth. The preamble of the constitution is prefaced by Isaiah lx. 1, and lxi. 3: 'Arise, shine, for thy light is come and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. To appoint unto them that mourn in Zion, to give unto them beauty for ashes, the oil of joy for mourning, the garment of praise for the spirit of heaviness, that they might be called the trees of righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he might be glorified.' The very language is jubilant with hope and courage, and the quotation may have suggested the name the Society adopted. Its members were dispersed over the State. It was to have weekly, quarterly and annual meetings, and these, for the convenience of the most numerous body of members, were held in Charleston. * * The first president was Col. John Winn, and its wardens Gen. William Strother and Capt. Robt. Ellison. Col. Thomas Taylor, Capt. Thomas Woodward, and other patriots were among the first signers of its constitution. Its membership the first year was fifty-eight in number. In 1778 ninety-six were added, in 1779 eighty-seven, so that at the close of this decennium two hundred and sixty-five names were found upon its roll. In the second year of its existence we find among the names, Andrew Pickens, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, four sons of Anthony Hampton—Henry, Edward, Richard and Wade—and the brother of Anthony, John Hampton. About this time a school was taught in Winnsboro' by William Humphreys, who it is believed was placed there by the Mount Zion Society. This Mr. Humphreys was a member of the Society, and owned lots in Winnsboro', which he sold about 1800. At what time this school was discontinued is not known, *but it was probably about the time when Lord Cornwallis moved his head-quarters to Winnsboro,' in 1780.*"

Dr. Howe in another place* writes:

"The Mount Zion Society received new members the 9th

* *Page 504.*

of May, 1780, just four days before the surrender of Charleston to the British army. Down to that time about fifty new names had been added to this list, among which is that of Charles Pinckney, Chief Justice of the Province, and president of the Provincial Congress. There is no record after this for about two years. Early in 1785, the Society met in Charleston, and elected John Huger president, appointed John Winn and six other directors in Winnsboro' and its vicinity, and Charles Pinckney and five other directors in Charleston; and wrote on the 7th of March a letter to the committee in Winnsboro' informing them of their action, addressing them as 'The Committee on Zion Hill.' This committee replied, informing them that *the temporary school had been broken up by the enemy*, but the buildings were safe and in the custody of Col. Richard Winn."

Dr. Howe goes on to tell that twelve names were added to the roll immediately; lands given by Col. Winn and Col. John Vanderhorst were run out, and the next year, 1784, seventy-four more names added to the membership of the Society, and the school placed under the charge of the Rev. Thomas Harris McCaule, who proposed to enlarge it into a college upon the plan of the college in New Jersey, where he had been educated; that this plan was adopted, and that Mount Zion, the College of Cambridge at Ninety-Six, and the Charleston College, were incorporated on the 19th March, 1785, in the same Act.

On the 5th March, 1778, that is, in the midst of the war, an Act was passed for incorporating a society commonly called the Catholic Society, the preamble of which tells its purpose: "Whereas, several inhabitants of this State have associated themselves under the name of the Catholic Society, for the purpose of founding, endowing and supporting *a public school* in the District of Camden, Eastward of the Wateree River, for the education and instruction of youth, and have made application to the General Assembly of the State to be incorporated," &c.*

Bishop Gregg, in his History of the Old Cheraws, says†:

* See *Statutes at Large, Volume VIII, page 115.*
† *History of the Old Cheraws, page 250.*

"About this time (1777) appears the first mention of a society which was destined to exert an important influence on the welfare of the communities bordering on the Upper Pedee.

"But little attention had hitherto been given to the subject of education. With a country recently settled, and most of the inhabitants poor, it was to be expected that matters of material interest would first engage the thoughts of the people. For some years past, too, the public disturbances, so deeply affecting the peace and prosperity of the infant settlements, had seriously retarded their progress.

"Being now, however, in a state of comparative repose, and with brighter prospects for the future, the welfare of the rising generation was no longer overlooked.

"On the 13th December, 1777, this entry appears in the Rev. Mr. Pugh's journal: 'Assembled at the Meeting House in Society to promote learning;' and on the 20th 'went to Dr. Mills, about the Society's rules.' 'On the 31st went to the Neck (the Welch Neck) to the Society, signed the rules, chose officers,' &c.

"The Hon. Alexander McIntosh was elected president, and George Hicks and Abel Kolb, wardens.

"The Society took the name of 'St. Davids,' and by that honored appellation continued afterwards to be distinguished."

Bishop Gregg continues: "The organization of the Society excited much interest among the inhabitants of St. David's Parish. An original subscription paper of the date just mentioned (13th December, 1777), with a preamble, has survived the ravages of time, and is in these words, viz:

"As the endowing and establishing *public* schools and other seminaries of learning has ever been attended with the most salutory effects, as well by cultivating in youth the principles of religion and every social virtue, as by enabling them afterwards to fill with dignity and usefulness the most important departments of the State, who that is a lover of his country as he looks around him can fail to deplore the great want of this necessary qualification in our

youth, especially in the interior parts of it, at this early period of our flourishing and rising State? In the future, when we shall be at liberty to make our own laws without the control of an arbitrary despot, what heart would not glow with pleasure to see a senate filled with learned, wise and able men, for the want of whom the most flourishing republics have become the tools of arbitrary despots? And, whereas, there is a society established in the Parish of St. David, by the name of the St. David's Society, purposely for founding a public school in said Parish, for educating youths in the Latin and Greek languages, mathematics and other useful branches of learning by those who are not of ability without assistance to carry so useful and necessary an effort into effect.

"Wherefore, in order to contribute to so laudable and benevolent an undertaking, we whose names are hereunto subscribed, do promise to pay, or cause to be paid into the hands of the secretary of the said Society the respective sums adjoined to each of our names, whenever the same shall be called for by the said secretary or his order."

Many names were signed to this paper, and over two thousand pounds subscribed, and on the 28th March following (1778) an Act incorporating the St. David's School was passed.*

It is thus seen that between the victory of Fort Moultrie in 1776, and the occupation of Charleston in 1780, and while indeed the British were investing the City of Charleston, the people were founding and the legislature was incorporating new *public* schools.

Andrew Jackson may not have been a scholar, and we do not cite him as an illustration of the educational system of South Carolina (though there is good reason to suspect that his inelegance of speech was more a matter of affectation than of ignorance),† but his history affords evidence upon the

* *Statutes at Large, Volume [illegible], page 118.*

† Mr. G. Ticknor Curtis, in a note to Volume I, page 129, of the Life of James Buchanan, [illegible] gives [illegible] the "Note upon the authorship of the Message of Mr. Buchanan's Message to Congress (1831) says:

"In this debate it was charged that the President's Message was written by Mr. Van Buren, the Secretary of State, and that General Jackson was incapable

point we are now considering, and contradicts Mr. McMaster's assertion that there were no schools in the State during the Revolution. Mr. Parton tells us that in early life Jackson attended some of the better schools of the country—schools, he goes on to explain, kept by clergymen, in which the languages were taught. He says the first school of the kind which Jackson attended was an academy in the Waxaw settlement, of which Dr. Humphries was master. In another place he says that by the time the war approached the Waxaw settlement, bringing blood and terror with it, leaving desolation behind it, *closing all school-houses*, and putting a stop to the peaceful labors of the people, Andrew Jackson was a little more than thirteen.* Now, as Andrew Jackson was born in 1767, he was but eight years of age when the Revolution commenced in 1775, and as Cornwallis defeated Gates at Camden on the 16th August, 1780, and in September, 1780, devastated the Waxaws, and as Jackson in 1782 spent some time in idleness in Charleston, and in the winter of 1784–5 went to Salisbury, N. C., to study law,† it follows that the schools he attended were schools which were open in South Carolina during the war of the Revolution. Indeed, it is known that Dr. Joseph Alexander taught in an academy kept open by him at Waxaws, and there was another at Bullock's Creek, York County, during this period;‡ and there was a school also at

---

of writing his official papers. It is very probably true that he did not write some of them. His proclamation against the Nullifiers is generally assumed to have been written by Edward Livingston. But that General Jackson was capable of writing well there can be no doubt. I remember, however, that in my youth, and during his presidency, it was generally believed in New England among his political opponents that he was an entirely illiterate man, who could not write an English sentence grammatically, or spell correctly. This belief was too much encouraged by persons who knew better, and it was not until many years afterwards that I learned how unfounded it was. There now lie before me autograph letters of General Jackson written wholly with his own hand, and written and punctuated with entire correctness, and with no small power of expression. Some of them have been already quoted. Others have been, and others will be, printed without the slightest correction. The handwriting is sometimes rather better for example than Mr. Webster's. There is not a single erasure in any one of the letters, and but very few interlineations. The spelling is perfectly correct throughout. The General Jackson was a better English scholar than Washington, and as to King George III, the General would Addison to comparison with his Majesty."

* *Parton's Life of Andrew Jackson*, page 62 and page 69.

† *Parton's Life of Jackson*, page 97, *et seq.*

‡ See *History of Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, page 514.

Fishing Creek, kept open by Mrs. Gaston, wife of Justice John Gaston.*

Mr. McMaster asserts that prior to 1730 no such thing as a grammar school existed in South Carolina; that between 1731 and 1776 there were but five, and during the Revolution there were none.

The following table shows the number of schools established before and during the Revolution in each of the election and political divisions of the State as such divisions were arranged by the constitution in 1776, when the State adopted the declaration of independence. It is known that there were other schools, but of the following we have record and special mention:

Parish of St. Philip's and St. Michael's (Charlestown) – – – –	(1) Charleston Free Grammar School—Acts of Assembly 1710–12. (2) South Carolina Society School, 1726. (3) Fellowship Society School, 1762. (4) Mr. Hampden Thompson's Private School, open during Revolution.
Parish of Christ Church, – – –	Supplied by Charleston Schools.
Parish of St John's, Berkeley, – –	Childsbury Free Grammar School, A. A. 1733
Parish of St. Andrew's, – – –	Supplied by Charleston Schools. Schoolo. Rev. Hugh Allison, 1770
Parish of St. George, Dorchester, –	Free Grammar School—Act Assembly, 1724–32.
Parish of St. James, Goose Creek, –	Ludlam Free Grammar School, A. A. 1778.
Parish of St. Thomas and St. Dennis, –	Beresford Free Grammar School, 1721—A. A. 1756.
Parish of St. Paul's, – – –	Whitmarsh Free Grammar School, 1723.
Parish of St. Bartholomew's, – –	
Parish of St. Helena, – – –	Cumming's Grammar School. Mr. Gourlay's Private School—prior to and during Revolution
Parish of St. James, Santee, – –	
Parish of Prince George, Winyaw, –	Winyaw Indigo Society Free Grammar School, A. A. 1730.
Parish of Prince Frederick, – –	

* *Letter of Rev. James H. Saye, D. D., Chester, S. C.*

Parish of St. James, Colleton,	Hext's School for the Poor, 1768.
Parish of St. Peters,	———
Parish of St. Stephen's,	———
District Eastward of Wateree,	Alexander's School, Winnsboro. Catholic Society School, A. A. 1778. (Free Grammar School.)
District of Ninety-Six,	Salem Society School, A. A. 1768. (Free Grammar School.)
District of Saxe Gotha (new German settlement),	———
District between Broad and Catawba Rivers,	Mount Zion Society School, 1777 (Free Grammar School). Bullock Creek School. Mrs. Gaston's School.
District of New Acquisition,	School on Tyger River, 1779.
Parish of St. Matthews,	———
Parish of St. David,	St. David's Society School, 1777—A. A. 1778 (Free Grammar School).
District between Savannah and Edisto Rivers,	———

It will thus be seen that at the close of the Revolution there were eleven public and three charitable grammar schools, and eight private schools, of which we know: that is twenty-two schools in the twenty-four Parishes and Districts into which the State was then divided.

We have shown then that not only were our schools kept open during the Revolution until actually closed by invading armies, but that even amidst scenes of conflict and the distress of war our people were alive to the interests of education as well as of religion: that nothing but fire and the sword closed our school-houses. But, since we are held up in contrast to New England in this matter—to New England, which has never yet been tried by the bitter presence of an hostile army, bringing death to her people and destruction to her property, let us refer to one of her own historians, as to her conduct in the matter of education—of which she boasts so much—when the excuse of war could be pleaded for its neglect. In *Belknap's History of New Hampshire, Volume III, page 259* (1792), we read:

"Several instances occur in the public records, as far back as the year 1722, just at the beginning of an Indian war, that the frontier towns petitioned the assembly for a special Act to exempt them from the obligation to maintain a grammar school during the war. The indulgence was granted them, but only on this condition, 'that they should keep a school for reading, writing and arithmetic;' to which all towns of fifty inhabitants were obliged. In later times the conduct of the same towns has been very different. *During the late war with Britain not only those, but many other towns, large and opulent, and far removed from any danger of the enemy, were, for a great part of the time, destitute of any public schools;* not only without applying to the legislature for permission, but contrary to the express requirements of the law, and notwithstanding courts of justice were frequently holden, and grand jurors solemnly sworn and charged to present all breaches of law, and the want of schools in particular. The negligence was one among many evidences of a most unhappy prostration of morals during that period. It afforded a melancholy prospect to the friends of science and virtue, and excited some generous and philanthropic persons to devise other methods of education."

III.

NEWSPAPERS.

We come now to Mr. McMaster's statement, in regard to the publication of newspapers in the South. He says: "Indeed, if the number of newspapers printed in any community may be taken as a guage of the education of the people, the condition of the Southern States, as compared with the Eastern and Middle, was most deplorable. In 1775 there were in the entire country thirty-seven papers in circulation. Fourteen of them were in New England, four were in New York, and nine in Pennsylvania; in Virginia and North Carolina there were two each, in Georgia one, in South Carolina three. The same is true to-day."

One would certainly suppose upon reading this statement that Mr. McMaster had examined the statistics of these Colonies, and had ascertained, at least as nearly as one now can, their respective populations, and that it was upon such a careful examination that he had concluded from this data also that in the Southern States education was almost wholly neglected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina. But it is evident that he hazarded this statement also without any consideration; and that it is as unfounded as his statements in regard to our schools.

To guage the education of a people by the number of newspapers printed in any community, we must first ascertain the number of the community, and compare the number of the newspapers with the number of the community, that is with its population. Mr. McMaster had just stated (page 8) that it had been estimated that at the opening of the war there were in the country, both white and black, two million seven hundred and fifty thousand souls; and in a note on the next page he quotes from the American Remembrancer, Part II, page 64, that an estimate of the white population of the States, made in 1783 for purposes of assessment, gives the number as two million three hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred.

As then in the whole country at the commencement of the Revolution there were but thirty-seven papers, and as the nearest estimate that can now be had of the white population of the whole country at that time is two million three hundred and eighty-nine thousand three hundred, we would have one newspaper published to every sixty-four thousand five hundred and seventy-five. Mr. McMaster allows that at this time South Carolina had three newspapers.* What then, let us inquire, was the population of South Carolina at that time? We have no estimate of the population of

* These, as preserved in the Charleston Library, were South Carolina Gazette, 1732 to 1774, nine volumes, folio; South Carolina American General Gazette, 1766 to 1775, two volumes, folio; South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal, 1765 to 1774. (See *Catalogue Charleston Library*.) Before these there had been South Carolina Gazette, January to September, 1731, two volumes; South Carolina Weekly Gazette, 1732 to 1733, two volumes folio. *Ibid.* See also *King's Newspaper Press of Charleston.*

South Carolina in 1775; but in a table given in Drayton's *View of South Carolina*, page 103, it is put in 1765 at forty thousand whites. Supposing then that the white population had increased to the extent of fifty per cent. in the ten years, from 1765 to 1775, we would have the number of whites in South Carolina sixty thousand. But we have just seen that the average population in the whole country necessary to support one paper was sixty-four thousand five hundred and seventy-five. In South Carolina it appears sixty thousand supported three newspapers, or one to every twenty thousand.*

Let us now go into this matter a little further, and compare South Carolina with the New England States and Pennsylvania, which are held up to us as the standard to which we failed to attain. Mr. McMaster gives us from *Hudson's History of Journalism* the number of newspapers published in New England at fourteen, without giving the numbers in each of these States. We will give them; they were as follows: Massachusetts seven, New Hampshire one, Rhode Island two, Connecticut four.†

Remembering that South Carolina had one newspaper for every *twenty thousand* inhabitants, let us see how many it required to maintain one in New England.

Massachusetts. Mr. Eaton S. Drone, in the *American Cyclopedia*, estimates the population in Massachusetts in 1775 at three hundred and fifty-two thousand, and as there were then seven newspapers in that State, we have but one newspaper for every *fifty thousand two hundred and eighty-five* inhabitants.

---

* In 1851 Mr. Greely was examined in London before a select Committee of Parliament on newspapers, and gave some interesting testimony in regard to the population necessary at that time to support a paper, which places South Carolina in 1775 in a very favorable comparative light. He says:

"In all the free States if a county has a population of twenty thousand it has two—one to each party. The general average is about one local journal in the agricultural counties for ten thousand inhabitants. A county of fifty thousand has five journals, which are generally weekly papers, and when a town grows to have as many as fifteen thousand inhabitants, or thereabout, it has a daily paper; sometimes that is the case when it has as few as ten thousand. It depends more upon the business of the place, but fifteen thousand may be stated as the average at which a daily paper commences. *Hudson's History of Journalism, page 544.*

† See *American Almanac, 1830, cited, Encyclopedia Americana.*

New Hampshire. "A survey taken in 1775, partly by enumeration and partly by estimation, for the purpose of establishing an adequate representation of the people, made the whole number eighty-two thousand two hundred." *Belknap's History of New Hampshire, page 234.* In New Hampshire *eighty-two thousand two hundred* people maintained but *one* paper.

Connecticut. In the *Encyclopedia Americana* the population of the State in 1774 is given at one hundred and ninety-seven thousand three hundred and sixty-five: and it had four newspapers, or one to every *forty-nine thousand three hundred and forty* inhabitants.

Rhode Island. We cannot put our hand upon any estimate of the population of Rhode Island before the Revolution with which to compare the circulation of her two newspapers.

Pennsylvania. From the *Encyclopedia Americana* we find that the population of Pennsylvania in 1782 was supposed to be three hundred and thirty thousand, and as she had nine newspapers, she had one to every *thirty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-six*; as nearly as can be approximated.

Upon this examination is it not strange that one who aspires to the character and dignity of an historian should rashly assert the lack of newspapers in South Carolina in 1775 as an evidence of her neglect of education, and lament her deplorable condition in consequence?

But if newspapers are the guage of the education of the people, what does Mr. McMaster say to the fact that though New Jersey had founded and established the great institution of learning, Princeton College, in which he was writing his history, yet with a population of *one hundred and fifty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-nine* in 1790 (we can find no estimate before the census of 1790), she had no newspaper whatever prior to the Revolution? Will he lament also *her* deplorable condition?

Grieving over the ignorance of the South in the last century, Mr. McMaster sighs, "*The same is true to-day.*"

"In 1870," he goes on to say, "the population of Georgia in round numbers was twelve hundred thousand souls, and the circulation of the newspaper less than fourteen and a half millions of copies. The population of Massachusetts was at the same time fifteen hundred thousand, but the newspaper circulation was far in excess of one hundred and seven and a half millions of copies."

But why stop in his lamentations here? The case, as viewed by him is infinitely worse than that. By the same census to which he refers, that of 1870, it appears that the whole value of the products of manufactures in Georgia was but $31,196,115, whereas in Massachusetts it was $553,912,568. Now, surely if the people of Georgia have so few manufactures, by parity of reasoning they must wear very little clothes, and can't have any shoes. We are beginning to remedy this, however, "down South." We are already manufacturing some clothing, and it may be that by the time Mr. McMaster gets through his work, we of the South will have begun, too, to have our own press, and to take fewer copies of New England and New York journals, and thus curtail to some extent that enormous circulation which Mr. McMaster has mistaken as being confined to the State of Massachusetts. The whole population of Massachusetts—men, women and children—native and foreign—in 1870, including thirty-one thousand seven hundred and forty-six men who were disqualified from voting because they could not read and write, was one million four hundred and fifty-seven thousand three hundred and fifty-one, not exactly the one million five hundred thousand Mr. McMaster makes them. Now, does Mr. McMaster believe that these people of Massachusetts, including those who could not read, were so ravenous for literature that they consumed sixty or seventy newspapers apiece annually? We venture to doubt their capacity to do so, even allowing that "Massachusetts *is* superior to all the rest of the world."

And after all how unsatisfactory a test of education and literature is this matter of the manufacture of periodicals?

Do not these figures include flashy pictorial periodicals, and even obscene works, which the Statutes of Massachusetts through the regular officers of the law, and by means of societies incorporated for the purpose, are endeavoring to suppress? A glance at the New York and Massachusetts Statutes will show that with a cheap press has sprung up the rankest and most noisome food that can be administered to the mind—to such an extent, that their legislatures have been called upon to suppress it. "The Nation" has lately been protesting from another standpoint—that of free trade—against this idea that literature may be counted by numbers and weighed by the pound.

It was Carlyle who said that there is a great discovery still to be made in literature—that of paying literary men by the *quantity* they *do not* write.

IV.

LIBRARIES.

We think we have fairly met the assertion of Mr. McMaster, that, if the number of newspapers printed in any community may be taken as the guage of the education of the people, the condition of the Southern States was most deplorable; and have shown that South Carolina at least may fairly challenge that test. But there is another test of the education of a people to which we may refer, and to which Dr. Ramsay calls attention in his chapter on the literary history of the State. The establishment of libraries, the circulation of books, encouraged by legislative acts and private donations, are certainly evidences that education was not wholly neglected in the Province.

In the special report of the Bureau of Education (U. S., 1876, chapter I—"*Public Libraries a Hundred Years Ago*"—Mr. Scudder observes: "The idea of a free public library could hardly find acceptance until the idea of free public education had become familiar to men's minds; and the libraries existing at the time of the Revolution were nec-

sarily representative of the existing state of public opinion on the subject of culture. They were, with scarce an exception, either connected directly with institutions of learning or the growth of associations of gentlemen having tastes or interests in common."

Dr. Ramsay, as we have seen in his chapter on the literary history of the State, writes that the earliest settlers had scarcely provided themselves with shelter before they adopted measures for the moral and literary improvement of themselves and their children. "In the year 1700," he goes on to say, "a law was passed for securing the Provincial library of Charleston, which had been *previously* formed by the liberality of Dr. Bray, the Lords Proprietors, and the inhabitants of the Province, and was afterwards by special Act of the legislature deposited in the hands of the minister of the Church of England in Charlestown for the time being, *to be loaned to the inhabitants in succession*, under the direction and care of James Moore, Joseph Morton, Nicholas Trott, Ralph Izard, Job Howe, Thomas Smith, Robert Stevens, Joseph Crosskeys and Robert Fennick, who were appointed commissioners for that purpose. * * * * * From this time forward, *the circulation of books*, the establishment of churches, and the settlement of Episcopal ministers in the different Parishes were *encouraged by legislative acts, private donations*, and by the liberality of the Society for Propagating the Gospel."*

Prof. Rivers says, in his Early History of South Carolina: "By the efforts of the Rev. Thomas Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary in Maryland, and from the bounty of the Lords Proprietors and contributions of the Carolinians, the first public library was formed in Charlestown, and placed by an Act of Assembly (Journal 1698) under the care of the Episcopal minister (November 1700)."†

In the year 1700, when this public library was inaugurated, there were in the Province about 5,500 persons, besides Indians and negroes.‡ What became of this library we do not

* *Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, [illegible] 257-8.
† *Historical Sketch of South Carolina*, [illegible] 250-251.
‡ *Ecclesiastical Church History*, page 3[illegible]; *Drayton's South Carolina*, page 103.

know, but it certainly was in operation for many years, for in 1712 another Act was passed "for *securing* the Provincial library at Charlestown, in Carolina," by which five more commissioners were added, and other provisions made for the use of the books and management of that library, and of other parochial libraries.*

Mr. Scudder in his report gives 1730 as the date of the formation by Franklin of the debating society called "*The Junto*," which grew into the *American Philosophical Society*, and was also the cause of the establishment of what Franklin called the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, *The Philadelphia Library*, which was the outcome of the *American Philosophical Society*, and which by its general prosperity and excellent management drew to itself other collections of books, was incorporated in 1742. The next library in this country not connected with an institution of learning, as appears by this report, was the present *Charleston Library Society*.

In the preface to its catalogue of 1826, which Mr. Scudder also quotes, this is the history given of the Society:

"The Charleston Library Society owes its origin to seventeen young men who in the year 1743 associated for the purpose of raising a small fund to collect such new pamphlets as should occasionally be published in Great Britian. They advanced and remitted to London ten pounds sterling as a fund to purchase such pamphlets as had already appeared during the current year, acting at first under a mere verbal agreement, and without a name. Before the close of the year, their views became more extensive, and on the 28th of December rules for the organization of the Society were ratified and signed, when they assumed the name of a library society, and made arrangements for the acquisition of books as well as pamphlets."†

The Society became popular, and before the close of the year 1750 numbered more than one hundred and sixty members. The Society had some difficulty in obtaining a char-

* *Statutes at Large, Volume 11, pages 374–79.*
† See also *Shecut's Essays*; *Simms' History of South Carolina, page 146.*

ter, very probably, we think, because the Colonial Legislature had, as we have seen, of itself undertaken the matter of a Provincial library: but, however that may be, the present *Charleston Library Society* was incorporated in 1755.

Josiah Quincy, in his journal, writes:

"March 9th (1773). Spent all the morning in viewing the public library, State-house, public offices, &c. Was accompanied by Messrs. Pinckney and Rutledge, two young gentlemen lately from the Temple, where they took the degree of barrister-at-law. The public library is a handsome square, spacious room, containing a large collection of very valuable books, prints, globes," &c.*

It will be observed that Dr. Ramsay says that the library, for securing which the Act of 1700 was passed, "*had been already formed.*" Now, the establishment of the Colony of South Carolina was only in 1670: it was, therefore, before thirty years had passed that the settlers of this Province had made their first effort to establish a library, and that at a time when there were but fifty-five hundred people in the Colony, besides Indians and negroes, and in doing so they were encouraged by public acts and private donations. Massachusetts boasts that the library of Harvard is the oldest in the country, having been commenced in 1633. The Colony of Massachusetts was established about 1607. Measured, therefore, by the time of the settlement of the two Colonies, the Provincial library of South Carolina was quite as early in the history of our Colony as that of Harvard was in the history of Massachusetts; and if a comparison be made as to the extent of the two libraries, that of Charleston will not suffer. It is remarkable that within a few years both libraries were destroyed by fire. That of Harvard was burnt on the 24th January, 1764, and it then contained five thousand volumes.† The Charleston Library was burnt 17th January, 1778, and it then contained between six thousand and seven thousand volumes.‡ But the library

* *Memoir of Josiah Quincy*, page 160.
† *Quincy's History of Harvard College*, by Josiah Quincy, Volume II, page [illegible], Note X.
‡ *Ramsay's History of South Carolina*, Volume II, page 370, Note.

of Harvard was not in any sense a public library. It was the library of an educational institution. It was commenced by a devise by the Rev. John Harvard of his library to the Wilderness Seminary.

We had something of the same kind in this Colony as early as 1755. The Winyaw Indigo Society, which we have already mentioned, though not incorporated until 1756, was formed about the year 1740 by the planters of Georgetown District, and was originally a social club, which met once a month to discuss the latest news from London and the culture of indigo, the staple product of the country. The initiation fees and annual subscriptions of the members were paid in indigo, and as the expenses were light, there had accumulated in 1755 a sum which seemed to require some special application. The president of the Society proposed that the surplus fund should be devoted to the establishment of an independent charity school for the poor, and out of this proposition sprung the establishment of the school of which we have spoken, and the accumulation of a valuable library, which was added to and maintained until destroyed or carried away by the federal troops on the occupation of Georgetown during the late war.*

Dr. Howe tells of the "Dorchester and Beech Hill Alphabet Society," which was another attempt at formation of a library Society as early as 1752.†

V.

OTHER EVIDENCES OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE.

We have shown that during the time in which Mr. McMaster has so rashly asserted that education was wholly neglected, our people were founding schools, building school-houses, employing teachers learned in the languages and assistants ready at accounts, and paying them out of the

* See *Report on Public Libraries a Hundred Years Ago*, and *Ramsay's History of South Carolina, Volume II, page 303.*

† *Howe's History Presbyterian Church, page 209.*

public treasury; that they were printing newspapers far in excess even of Massachusetts; that they were establishing public libraries even before Franklin founded that in Philadelphia. But there are still other evidences of the education and culture of our people during the period of our alleged ignorance.

In a paper prepared by J. M. Toner, M. D., founder of the Toner lectures in Washington, and published by the Government at the instance of General Eaton, Commissioner of the Bureau of Education, in 1874, Dr. Toner says:*

"The Carolinas, from a comparatively early period, furnished numerous valuable contributions to the literature of medicine and natural history, *and for some years led all the States in the study of the natural sciences.*†

"As early as 1738, Doctors Maubray, surgeon in the British navy, and Kirkpatrick, introduced and conducted successfully general inoculation at Charleston. The practice was at various times resorted to subsequently.

"John Lining, a native of Scotland, who settled in Charleston in 1730, was an accomplished physician, and published in 1743 'Observations on the Weather of Charleston,' and later, 'An Account of Excretions of the Human Body.' In 1753 he published in the second volume of the Medical Observations and Inquiries, page 370, 'A Description of the American Yellow Fever.' He died in 1750, aged fifty-two years.

"Dr. William Bull was the first native South Carolina physician of note, *and the first American who received the degree of M. D.* This was granted at Leyden in 1734, his thesis being on 'Colica pictorium.' He died July 4, 1791, aged eighty-two.

"Lionel Chalmers, a native of Scotland, and a well educated physician, settled in Charleston prior to 1740. In 1754 he published an essay on Opisthotonos and Tetanus.

---

* Contributions to the Annals of Medical Progress and Medical Education in the United States Before and During the Wars of Independence, by Joseph Toner, M. D., page 67.

† We may add that from that time to this, South Carolina has never been without a naturalist of established reputation in the scientific world.

and in 1768 an article on fever, in which he adopted the 'spasmodic theory.' In 1776 he published a work in two volumes on the Weather and Diseases of South Carolina. He died in the year 1777, at the age of 62.

"Dr. John Mouitrie was the next South Carolinian who received the degree of M. D., which was granted in 1749 from Edinburgh. His thesis was 'De febra flava.'

"For ten years intervening between 1768 and 1778, there were ten natives who received the degree of doctor of medicine at Edinburgh. * * * * * * *

"Alexander Gardner, a native of Edinburgh, settled in Charleston in 1750. In 1754 he wrote a description of a new plant—*Gardenia**—which is published in the first volume of Medical Observations and Inquiries, page 1. In 1764 he published an account of the *Spigelia marylandica*, or Carolina pink-root, and in 1772 a second and enlarged edition of the paper on the Philosophical Transactions. He died in London in 1792, aged 64."

To these, we may add Dr. Thomas Walter, a native of England, who settled on a plantation on the banks of the Santee, and who published in 1788 botanical essays—*Flora Septema Vegetabilium, &c.*

Our people, who we are told were without education or culture, were building churches, one of which (St. Philip's, built in 1723), Edmund Burke described as "spacious, and executed in a very handsome taste, exceeding everything of that kind which we have in America;"† and the steeple of another (St. Michael's, built in 1756), is to-day celebrated for the beauty of its proportions. They were adorning their spacious mansions‡ with original paintings of the masters, with life portraits of their families by

* So named in his honor by Linnaeus, with whom Dr. Gardner corresponded in Latin.

† Dalcho's Church History, quoting "Account of European Settlements in America"—Burke—Volume II, page 255.

‡ Memoir of Josiah Quincy Adams, page 109: "Monday 8 (1773) [illegible] with a large company of Miss Brewton's, Esq., a gentleman of very large [illegible] house, and [illegible] pounds [illegible]." The residence of the late Wm. Pringle. His house was [illegible] the head-quarters of Lord Cornwallis during the Revolution, and by the [illegible] army during the late war.

Sir Joshua Reynolds, Allan Ramsay, Zoffany, Romney, Gainsborough, Copley, and Stuart.* Dr. Ramsay tells us that great attention also was paid to music, and that many arrived at distinguished eminence in its science. To encourage this science, a society was formed and incorporated in 1784, which exists to-day as a social organization of the highest standing. The occasion and purposes of its incorporation are thus stated in the preamble to the Act:

"Whereas, several persons, inhabitants of this State, have associated themselves together, and by voluntary contributions have raised a considerable fund, which is now out at interest on bonds, and collected a number of musical instruments, books and other property, with the laudable intention of encouraging the liberal science of music, and are desirous of having the said society incorporated, thereby to put them on a more solid and lasting foundation than they could by their voluntary subscriptions only," &c.†

Mr. McMaster tells how before the first Congress had met the demand had arisen that the Federal Government should restrain commerce with Great Britian; should restrain importation, and encourage manufactures; and how that in every great city, from Boston to Baltimore, societies for the encouragement of manufactures had sprung up since the war and were flourishing; but he does not consider it worthy of notice to mention that the people of South Carolina were at the same time forming societies for the scientific culture of rice and indigo, and for the enlightened

* See Appendix.

† Memoir of Josiah Quincy, page 97: "March 2, (1773). This day I was visited by several gentlemen to whom yesterday I had delivered letters. Received a ticket from David Deas, Esq., for the St. Cecelia concert, and now quit my journal to go.

"March 3d. The concert-house is a large, inelegant building, situated down a yard, at the entrance of which I was met by a constable with his staff. I offered him my ticket, which was subscribed by the name of the party giving it, and evincing admission of me by name. The officer told me to proceed; I did, and was soon met by a civil gentleman who directed me to a third to whom I delivered my ticket, and was conducted in. The music was good—the two base viols and French horns were grand. One Abecontue, a Frenchman, just [illegible] I [illegible] Congress and [illegible] a salary of five hundred guineas a year from the St. Cecelia Society. There were upwards of two hundred and fifty ladies present, and it was called no great number," &c.

advancement in agriculture in reclaiming their swamp lands.*

But why go on rehearsing and arguing? What boots it that the people of South Carolina were the first on this continent to attempt a public library; that they were before Massachusetts even in establishing free schools; that prior to the Revolution they maintained, in proportion to the population, more newspapers than New England and more than Massachusetts? What matters it that South Carolina led all the States in the study of natural sciences, and, to this day, has never been without her recognized naturalist; what that by patient toil and careful scientific study her people converted swamps and marshes into golden rice fields, and spread the seed and culture of cotton from the Atlantic beyond the Mississippi, improving that of her sea islands until it has "surpassed all other description of cotton in the length, strength and beauty of its staple?" What difference does it make that they found time to cultivate the muses while draining their swamps, and brought home with them from London and Italy paintings which would have been prized in the oldest cities in Europe? What that they sent to the councils of their country sons whom they had educated at home and abroad for the public service? What matters it all? Is it not written that they are uneducated, ignorant, misshapen, and but a few shades lighter than the Iroquois? Why say more about it?

But does it never occur to those "wiser, bitter brethren of ours," to ask themselves, if we of the South were so ignorant and they of the North so educated, how was it that Southerners, in a numerical minority, without education, controlled the general government for nearly the first eighty years of its existence? How did it happen that eight out of the thirteen of the presidents elected were from the South, and that five of them were elected twice; the South thus holding the office for nearly two-thirds of

* Winyaw Indigo Society, 1755, and Agricultural Society of South Carolina, Statutes at Large, Volume VIII, page 157.

the time? How did it happen that more than half the Judges of the Supreme Court, and three of the five Chief Justices, were from the South? How did it happen that Marshall and Taney were the moulders of the system of jurisprudence of the United States? War is a science—how was it then that the uneducated people in the Revolution, in the war of 1812, and in the Mexican war, furnished the generals that led our armies to victory? How was it that of the great triumvirate, Webster, Clay and Calhoun, two were Southerners? And in the great final catastrophe, how came it, if the South was so ignorant, that the educated North had to resort to force, to mere brute force, at last, to overcome the argument it could never refute in the Senate chamber?

For South Carolina herself, this is what Dr. Ramsay, when he wrote (1808), adds in a note to his chapter on her literary history:

"South Carolina has furnished to the United States two Presidents of the Revolutionary Congress; a Chief Justice and an Associate Judge of the Supreme Court; six Diplomatic characters; a Comptroller and Treasurer; three general officers for the Revolutionary army; a Major-General for the army of 1798, and a Brigadier-General for the army of 1808. In addition to this the vote of the State in 1800 might have elevated one of its citizens either to the Presidency or Vice-Presidency. With the exception of Virginia no State in the Union has obtained a greater or even an equal proportion of national honors. *This was in some degree the consequence of the attention paid by the earlier settlers of Carolina to the liberal education of their children.*"

And yet this is the author to whom Mr. McMaster refers as his authority for the assertion that in the Southern States education was almost wholly neglected, but nowhere to such an extent as in South Carolina.

APPENDIX.

I am indebted to the following communication from Gabriel E. Manigault, M. D., President of the Carolina Art Association, for a list of the paintings of the masters which were to be found in the Carolina homes in Colonial times.

E. McC., Jr.

CHARLESTON, S. C., June 22, 1883.

General Edward McCrady:

MY DEAR SIR—In compliance with your request I have prepared for you a list of the London artists who were employed by various persons from South Carolina, who were in England during the last century for educational and other purposes, to paint their portraits. This list contains the names of such noted painters as Allan Ramsay, Zoffany, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Benjamin West, Copley, Gainsborough and Gilbert Stuart, while the latter was living in London; and they are a striking evidence of the amount of culture attained by our people during the Colonial period, and in the years immediately following the Revolution, when the effects of English education were still perceptible among the well to do classes.

It is needless to say that the above mentioned names are those of the most distinguished English painters of the latter half of the Eighteenth Century, and, what is more remarkable, is that, with one exception, the paintings themselves have all passed unharmed through the devastation of the late war, and are more than ever prized by their present owners.

The list is as follows:

ALLAN RAMSAY, COURT PAINTER, LONDON, 1715—1784.

1. Portrait of Mr. Peter Manigault, afterwards Speaker of the Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina. London, 1751. Owned by the heirs of the late C. Manigault.

2. Portrait of Mr. John Deas. London, 1754. Owned by Mr. Henry Deas Lowndes, Charleston, S. C.

ZOFFANY, LONDON, 1733—1788.

1. Portrait of Mr. Ralph Izard, afterwards Commissioner to Tuscany during the Revolution, member of the Continental Congress, and one of the first two Senators from South Carolina. Painted about 1763. Owned in Charleston by the heirs of the late C. Manigault.

SIR JOSHUA REYNOLDS, LONDON, 1723—1792.

1. Portrait of Mr. Miles Brewton, painted in London shortly before 1776, and owned in Charleston by the family of the late Wm. Bull Pringle.

BENJAMIN WEST, LONDON, 1738—1820.

1. Portrait of Mr. Arthur Middleton with wife and infant child. This gentleman was afterwards one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Painted in London between 1773 and 1785. Owned by Mrs. J. Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia, one of his descendants.

2. Portrait of Mr. Thomas Middleton, brother of the above. Painted in London at about the same time. Owned by Mr. N. Russel Middleton, Charleston.

3. Portrait of Mr. Ralph Izard, above mentioned. Painted in London before the Revolution. Owned by Mr. Walter Izard, of Virginia, a descendant.

ROMNEY, LONDON, 1734—1802.

1. Portrait of Mrs. Roger Smith. London, 1786. Mrs. Smith was a sister of John Rutledge, of South Carolina, commonly known as Dictator Rutledge. Owned by Mrs. Frederick A. Porcher, of Charleston, one of her descendants.

GAINSBOROUGH, LONDON, 1727—1788.

1. Portrait of Mrs. Ralph Izard, wife of the above. Painted before the Revolution. Owned by Dr. Robert Watts, 49 West 36th Street, New York, one of her descendants.

COPLEY, LONDON, 1776—1815.

1. Portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Ralph Izard, same as above. Painted in Rome, Italy, 1774 while they and the artist were spending the winter in that city. Owned in Charleston by the heirs of the late C. Manigault.

2. and 3. Portraits of Lord Campbell and wife, the last Royal Governor of South Carolina. Painted before the Revolution, probably in Boston. Owned by Mr. D. Lynch Pringle, Georgetown, S. C.

4, 5 and 6. Three portraits of members of the Holmes family in Charleston. Painted in Boston before the Revolution. Owned by Miss R. T. Holmes.

GILBERT STUART, LONDON.

Portrait of Mr. Gabriel Manigault. London, 1779. Owned by Mrs. H. H. Manigault, and temporarily located at residence of Mr. Elliott Zoboroffski, Westchester County, New York.

Portrait of Mr. Joseph Manigault, brother of the above. London, 1781. Owned by family of the late H. M. Manigault.

There was a seventh portrait by Copley—that of Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress. Painted

in London in 1782. It was destroyed by fire in Charleston in 1861. It was owned by the late John Laurens.

I have been careful to exclude from this list any portraits about which there seems to be any doubt, and consider those enumerated as perfectly authentic. I will add that several of them are quite large paintings and of distinguished merits, especially the first one by Copley and the Romney.

During the flourishing period of miniature painting, at the close of the last century and commencement of the present, many artists in that line found it to their advantage to visit Charleston during several successive years. Notably among these was Malbone, of Newport, R. I., without exception the most distinguished of all the American miniature painters. At a recent loan exhibition of his portraits, as well as those of others, held in Charleston during the month of April, 1883, there were exhibited so many by him as to be a matter of surprise, and their excellence may be considered proof that his great ability was fully appreciated by those who employed him.

I am glad to be able to give you this information concerning the tastes of our people in by-gone years, for the evidence it affords is undeniable, which is that, after having become by their own efforts reasonably prosperous, they were not content with the mere possession of wealth, but sought in every way that was open to them to improve through its agency the condition of themselves and of their children.

I remain, faithfully, yours,

G. E. MANIGAULT.

4190